Englands Remembrancer,

containing

A true and full Narrative of those two never to be forgotten deliverances: The one from the *Spanish* Invasion in Eighty eight: The other from the Hellish Powder Plot, *November* 5. 1605.

Whereunto is added

The like Narrative of that signal judgement of God upon the Papists, by the fall of the house, in *Black-Friers London*, upon their fifth of *November*, 1623.

Collected for the information and benefit of each Family, by *Sam. Clark* Pastor in Bennet Fink.

Behold, the wicked traveileth with iniquity, and hath conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood.

He made a pit, & digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made.

His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate. Psal. 7. 14, 15, 16.

PRINTED by *J. O.* for *John Rothwel* at the Fountain in *Cheapside*, 1657.

Sum ex libris John Brooke de chelford.

Sum ex libris John Brooke

THey that would ſee further into this work of Darkneſs in the Powder plot, are deſired to look into the Sermons of the Reverend Dr. *Spurſtow* Paſtor of *Hackney*.

And Mr. *Matth. Newcomen* Paſtor of *Dedham*, both Preached before the Parliament, on the fifth of *November*.

As alſo Mr. *Vennings* Sermon, Preached at *Pauls* laſt fifth of *November*.

To be ſold by John Rothwell, *at the Fountain in* Cheapſide.

John Brooke his Booke.

TO THE

HONOVRABLE

And

His much Honoured Friends

EDWARD RUSSEL, Esq.

Son to the Right Honourable

FRANCIS *Earl of* BEDFORD.

AND TO

The LADY PENELOPE,

His prudent and pious consort.

Sir, Madam,

I *Take the boldness to present you with these* Narratives, *not for that they are new, or supposing your selves to be strangers to them: but*

as a Testimony of my Gratitude for those favours I have received from you: The high Heavens may be seen in the lowest valleys: so may a Large heart in the least Gift. But truly though the Gift be worthless, yet so is not the matter contained in it, which sets forth such eminent and signal deliverances as no Church or people in these latter Ages of the world have received: And there must be a recognition of Gods mercies, or else there will neither follow estimation, nor retribution: Hence Micah 6. 5. O my people (*saith God many hundreds of years after*) remember now what Balack King of Moab consulted, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him from Shittim unto Gilgal, that ye may know the righteousness of the Lord. *If there be not such a recognition of former deliverances, we that should be as Temples of his praise, shall be as graves of his benefits. Our souls indeed are too like filthy Ponds, wherein fish die soon,*

and

and frogs live long: Rotten stuff is remembred, memorable mercies are forgotten, whereas the soul should be as an holy Ark; *the memory as the pot of* Manna, *preserving holy truths and special mercies; as* Aarons Rod, *fresh and flourishing. Oh! let us imitate that man after Gods own heart! If the Lord will be* Davids *shepherd, he will dwel in Gods house to all perpetuity,* Psalm 23. 1, 6. *If God deal bountifully with him, he will sit down and bethink himself what to render for all his benefits,* Psalm 116. 7, 12. *A Christian counts all that he can do for God by way of retribution, but a little of that much he could beteem him; and thinks nothing more unbeseeming him then to bury the mercies of God in oblivion. His two mites of* Thankfulness *and* obedience *he dayly presents, and then cryes out as that poor* Grecian *did to the Emperour:* If I had a better present thou shouldest be sure of it.

what

What then may we judge of those persons in our daies, who labour to extenuate, yea annihilate these deliverances? that would have no publick commemorations of them, that study how to invalidate them, and to blot out the remembrance of them. To render good for evil is Divine: Good for good is Humane: evil for evil is brutish: But evil for good is Devilliſh. Yet alas how ordinary an evil is this among us, to abuse our deliverances to Gods dishonour? But do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish people, and unwise? Is not he thy Father? he hath bought thee? &c. Deut. 32. 6. *Should we not remember that good turnes aggravate unkindnesses, and our offences are not a little encreased by our obligations? Ingrateful persons are like the Snake in the Fable, who said to the countrey-man when he had shewed it kindnesse:* Summum præmium pro summo beneficio est ingratitudo. *Ingratitude*

gratitude is the greateſt reward of the greateſt benefit.

How many ſuch ſnakes have we amongſt us, that return evil for good, and unkindneſs for kindneſs? Is not this to fight againſt God, with his own weapons? as David *did againſt* Goliah: *as* Iehu *did againſt* Iehoram: *and as* Benhadad *did againſt* Ahab, *with that life that he had lately given him: for the preventing whereof (if it may be) are theſe things publiſhed, being almoſt worn out of remembrance more then the very names of them. Beſides, though they may be found in larger volumes, yet are they not ſo fit for every Family: And as I have preſumed (honourable and beloved) to publiſh them under your protection, ſo I doubt not but they will find the better entertainment for the ſame. My earneſt deſire and prayer for you is that* the God of Peace will fill you with all joy and peace by believe-

ing

ing, *multiplying his blessings upon you and yours: and that you would afford me a room in your* Albe *among those that*

Sir, Madam,
Love, honour, and
serve you, *Sam.*
Clark.

From my study in
Thridneedle street,
Octo. 22. 1657.

EIGHTY EIGHT REVIVED,

In a Commemoration of that wonderful, and almost miraculous deliverance afforded by God to this Nation from the Spanish Invasion, Anno Christi, 1588.

THE year one thousand five hundred eighty eight, was foretold by an Astronomer of *Koningsberg*, above one hundred years before, that it should prove *a wonderful year*: and the German Chronologers presaged, that it would be the *Climacterical* year of the world, which was in some measure accomplished in that glorious, and never to be forgotten deliverance vouchsafed by God to us in *England*, and

in that fatal overthrow of the Spaniſh Navy; A true Narrative whereof followes.

But that we may the better ſee what induced the *Spaniard* to make this hoſtile invaſion, we muſt be informed, both who were the inciters, and by what arguments, and artifices they ſtirred him up therunto.

The Inciters were the Pope, and ſome traiterous *Engliſh* Fugitives who were entertained in *Spain*, and at *Rome*. The deſign was, *The Conqueſt of England*; which had been hindred for the ſpace of ten years by reaſon of the Spaniſh wars in *Portugal*. The Arguments were, that ſeeing God had bleſſed the King of *Spain* with admirable bleſſings and ſucceſſes; had given him in, *Portugal*, the *Eaſt Indies*, and very many rich Iſlands belonging to the ſame; that he ſhould therefore perform ſomewhat that might be acceptable to God (the giver of ſo great and good things) and moſt worthy the power, and majeſty of the Catholick King: That the Church of God could not be more gloriouſly, nor meritoriouſly propagated, then by the conqueſt of *England*, extirpating Hereſie, and planting the Catholick Roman Religion there. This war (they ſaid) would

would be moſt juſt and neceſſary; conſidering that the Queen of *England* was excommunicated, and perſiſted contumacious againſt the Church of *Rome*. That ſhe ſupported the King of *Spains* Rebels in the *Netherlands*, annoyed the Spaniards with continual depredations, ſurprized, and ſacked his towns in *Spain*, and *America*, and had very lately put the Queen of *Scots* to death, therein violating the majeſty of all Kings.

Again, that this war would be no leſs profitable then juſt; For hereby he might adde to his Empire other flouriſhing Kingdoms, extinguiſh the rebellion in the *Low-Countries*, hitherto fomented and ſupported from *England*; ſecure his voyages from both the *Indies*, and abate his vaſt expences in convoying his *Indian* Fleets both forward and backward: For proof whereof (they ſuggeſted) that the Engliſh Navy was neither for number, nor greatneſs, nor ſtrength comparable to that of *Spain*; eſpecially having the *Portugal* fleet now annexed unto it. That *England* was not fortified, and it wanted Commanders: Souldiers, a Cavalry, and Ammunition, was bare of Wealth, and Friends. That there were many in

all parts of it addicted to the *Romish* religion, and would upon the first opportunity joyn their forces with his. In brief, that so great was the strength of the *Spaniard*, and so unmatchable was their valour, that no man durst oppose against them, and therfore they might confidently assure themselves of victory. Moreover, that now an opportunity was afforded by God himself to the King of *Spain* to effectuate this great design, having no cause to fear any other enemies, by reason of a Truce lately concluded by him with the great *Turk*, and the *French* (his old enemies) being now embroiled in civil wars at home. They perswaded him likewise that *England* was an easier conquest then the *Netherlands*: For that he had a shorter cut to it by sea, and that an open sea: neither was it so fortified with Cities, Castles, &c. as the *Netherlands* were: and that *England* being once conquered, the *Netherlands* would soon follow of course, having lost their best supporter.

These, and such like arguments prevailing with the King of *Spain*, in the next place they held a serious Consultation about the manner of invading *England*.

Don

Don Alvares Baſſano, Marqueſs of *Santta Cruce*, who was to command the Armado, adviſed that ſome Port-town in *Holland*, or *Zealand* ſhould be ſuddenly ſurprized by the Prince of *Parma's* land forces (who was then Governor of the *Netherlands* under the King of *Spain*) and by ſome Spaniſh ſhips ſent to aſſiſt him by ſea, that ſo the great fleet might have an harbor from whence to begin their invaſion: with whom agreed in opinion the Prince of *Parma* himſelf, who was very forward to promote this expedition. But others oppoſed this by reaſon of the difficulty, danger, expence of time, and vaſt charge that it would require. They held that with the ſame charge *England* might eaſier be won, and that the conqueſt thereof would be aſſured, if a well-appointed Army out of *Spain*, and the *Low-Countries* might be landed at the *Thames* mouth, and *London* (the Metropolis of *England*) ſurpriſed by a ſudden aſſault. And this opinion, as the more probable, prevailed. And then again it was adviſed by ſome, that war ſhould firſt be denounced by an Herald, both to remove ſuſpicion and jealouſie from neighbour Princes, and to drive our Queen to call in forraign forces

to assist her: hoping that according to the insolent manner of mercenaries, they would raise mutinies, and spoil the Country, which would make the Queens subjects evil affected towards her, so that all things would grow into a confusion in *England*. But this motion was not hearkened to by men grown fierce, insolent, and confident of their own strength, only they desired the blessing of the Pope upon their Armado, and the prayers of the Catholicks to God and the Saints for good success. And to strike the greater terror into the hearts of the English. They set forth Books with printed Maps, wherein was expressed the greatness of their Preparations in each particular, which indeed was so great in *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, that the Spaniards themselves were amazed at it, and procured the Pope to Christen it by the name of the *Invincille Armado*.

Now that the wonderful power and mercy of God to us in this poor Nation, in protecting us against the same, may the more gloriously appear, I shall in the next place set down what their preparations were for Ships, Mariners, Land-Souldiers, Ammunition, and other provisions for the

the carrying on of ſo great an undertaking.

The Spaniſh Navy, being the beſt appointed for men, munition, and all manner of proviſion, that ever the Ocean ſaw had been five years in preparing, conſiſted of one hundred and thirty Ships, whereo theſe were the principal.

The Admiral Gallion of Saint *Martins*, of a thouſand Tun burden, had in her one thouſand ſeventy and ſeven Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, fifty Cannon, &c.

The Gallion of Saint *Iohns*, of one thouſand aud ſeventy Tun, had in her one hundred and ſixty Marriners, two hundred and thirty one ſouldiers, fifty Canons, &c.

The Gallion of Saint *Mark* of ſeven hundred and ninty two Tun, had in it one hundred and ſeventeen Mariners, two hundred and ninety two Souldiers, &c.

The Gallion of Saint *Philip*, of eight hundred Tun, had in it one hundred and ſeventeen Mariners, four hundred and fifteen Souldiers, forty Guns, &c.

The Gallion of Saint *Lewis*, of eight hundred and thirty Tun, had in it one hundred and ſixteen Mariners, three hun-

dred and seventy six Souldiers, fourty Guns, &c.

The Gallion of Saint *Matthew*, of seven hundred and fifty Tun, had in it fifty Mariners, one hundred and seventy seven souldiers, fourty Guns, &c.

The Gallion of Saint *Iames*, of five hundred and twenty Tun, had in it one hundred Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, fifty two Guns, &c.

The Gallion of *Florence*, of nine hundred and sixty one Tun, had in it one hundred Mariners, three hundred souldiers, fifty two Guns, &c.

The Gallion of Saint *Christopher*, of three hundred fifty and two Tun, had in it ninty Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, thirty Guns, &c.

The Gallion of Saint *Bernard*, of three hundred and fifty two Tun, had in it one hundred Mariners, two hundred and eighty Souldiers, thirty Guns, &c.

A ship of Saint *Angelo*, of seven hundred sixty and eight Tun, had in it one hundred and fourteen Mariners, three hundred and twenty three Souldiers, thirty Canons, &c.

The *Gangrine*, of one thousand one hundred

hundred and ſixty Tun; had in it one hundred and ten Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, thirty ſix Canon, &c.

The ſhip Saint *Iames*, of ſix hundred and ſixty Tun, had in her one hundred and two Mariners, two hundred and fifty Souldiers, thirty Guns, &c.

The *Manuel*, of five hundred and twenty Tun, had in her fifty four Mariners, one hundred and thirty Souldiers, ſixteen Guns, &c.

The Saint *Mary*, of ſeven hundred and ſeven tun, had in her fifty Mariners, two hundred and twenty ſouldiers, thirty Guns, &c.

But I need not reckon up the reſt. They had in all one hundred and thirty ſhips, containing Fifty ſeven thouſand, eight hundred and eight tun; wherein were Eight hundred and fourty five Mariners, Ninteen thouſand two hundred and ninty five Souldiers, and two thouſand and eighty eight Gally-ſlaves. And ſo confident were the *Spaniards* that *England* ſhould pay the ſhot, that they ſpared no coſt for furniſhing it forth with all things neceſſary. For which end they provided of Bullets for great ſhot two hundred and twenty thouſand. Of powder four thouſand and two hundred Kintals, every Kintal

tal containing a hundred pound weight: of lead for bullets a thousand Kintals: of match a thousand, and two hundred Kintals: Muskets seven thousand: of Partisans and Halberts ten thousand: with store of murthering pieces, double Canon, and Field-pieces for the Camp: they had also store of furniture for carriages, mules and horses, so that they were sufficiently provided both for Sea and Land. Bread and Bisket ready baked, and Wine laid aboard for six months provision. They had moreover six thousand and five hundred kintals of Bacon; three thousand of Cheese, besides other flesh, Rise, Beans, Pease, Oile, and Vinegar, with twelve thousand Pipes of fresh water. They had also store of torches, Lamps, and Lanthorns, Canvas, Hides, and Lead to stop Leaks: Whips, and Butcherly knives to murder and torment the poor *English*. In a word, the Army was thirty two thousand strong, and cost the King of *Spain* thirty two thousand Ducats every day.

In this Army were five Regiments of old *Spanish*-Soldiers of the Tertio's of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and the *Tercera's* commanded by five Masters *Del-Campo*: The first was Don *Diego de Piementel*, a Knight of the order of Saint *John*, and Brother to the Marques

Marqueſs of *Taveras*: The ſecond Colonel was Don *Franciſco de Toledo*, brother to the Earl of *Orgas*: The third Don *Alonzo de Luzon*: The fourth Don *Nicholas de Illa*: The fifth was *Auguſtin Mexia*; each Colonel having in his Regiment thirty two companies: Beſides the *Caſtilian*, and *Portugal* bands, each of them having their peculiar Commanders and weapons.

The General of this mighty Army (the Marqueſs of *Sancta Cruce* being now dead) was Don *Lodovicus Peres*, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* of the order of the *Golden Fleece*. The Admiral was Don *John Martinez de Richald*: The Marſhal Don *Franciſco Bovadille*: Others were chief Counſellors for the war, and Don *Martin Alarcon* was Vicar General for the holy, unholy Inquiſition, in whoſe train were a hundred Monks and Jeſuites: and Cardinal *Allen* was appointed the Superintendent of Eccleſiaſtical matters throughout *England*, who fearing to be unprovided, tranſlated Pope *Sextus* his Bull into *Engliſh*, that it might be the ſooner publiſhed upon the arrival of the *Spaniſh* Fleet in this our nation. Of voluntary adventurers, there were a hundred & twenty four Noble men, and Gentlemen of all the greateſt houſes

houſes in *Spaine* hoping to be well paid with the lands and riches of *England*.

The Prince of *Parma* alſo in the *Netherlands*, by the King of *Spaines* command, built ſhips, and very many flat-bottomed boates, each of them big enough to carry thirty horſe, with bridges fitted to them to ſhip and unſhip the horſes: He hired Mariners from *Eaſt-Germany*, ſet many thouſands on work to dig and deepen Rivers from *Antwerp* to *Gaunt*, and to *Bruges*: lading three hundred ſmall boats with munition and victuals. Two hundred more flat-bottom'd boats were made, though not ſo big as the former, which lay ready in the Haven of *Newport*, beſides thirty ſeven ſhips of war at *Dunkirk*: He prepared piles ſharpened at the nether ends, headed with iron, and hooked on the ſides to pile up the mouths of Rivers: At *Graveling* he provided twenty thouſand empty casks with cords, and other furniture fit to make floating Bridges to ſtop up the Havens, beſides an infinite number of faggots: He ſhipped likewiſe a great abundance of Saddles, Bridles, with other furniture for horſe, and horſes alſo for carriages, with Ordnance and other proviſions for war.

Neer unto *Newport* he had lying under the

the command of *Camillo* thirty companies of *Italians*, two of *Walloons*, and eight of *Burguignons*, every company containing a hundred men: At *Dyxmew* he muſtered eighty companies of *Netherlanders*, ſixty of *Spaniards*, ſixty of *High Dutch*, amongſt which were ſeven hundred fugitive *Engliſh* under the command of Sir *William Stanley*, who of all others were held in greateſt contempt: neither was *Stanley*, nor the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, nor others which offered their ſervice and counſel once heard, but for their treachery to their countrey barred from all acceſs, and as moſt unfortunate conductors, worthily with deteſtation rejected. At *Conick* alſo he quartered other four thouſand, and at *Watene* nine hundred horſe, commanded by the Marqueſs of *Guaſt*. And to this land-ſervice came the Duke of *Paſtrana*, ſuppoſed to be the King of *Spains* baſe ſon: the Marqueſs of *Bourgon*, one of the Duke *Ferdinands* ſons: Don *Veſpaſian Gonſaga* of the houſe of *Mantua*, a great ſouldier, who had been Viceroy of *Spain*: Don *Iohn de Medices*, baſtard of *Florence*; Don *Amadeus*, baſtard of *Savoy*, with many others of the like quality.

Neither was *Sixtus Quintus*, Pope of *Rome*, any wayes backward to ſhew his diligenc

ligence, and devotion to this intended invasion; but sent abroad his *Cruſado* (as he uſed to do againſt the *Turks* and *Infidels*) wherein out of the treaſure of the Church he gave plenary Indulgences, and pardon of all their ſins to every one that contributed his aſſiſtance hereunto: and for the furtherance, of this enterpriſe himſelf undertook to contribute a million of gold, the one half preſently down, the other half when any notable Haven in our land ſhould be won; yet with this *Proviſo*, that the Crown of *England* ſhould be held as Feudatory to the See of *Rome*; in earneſt whereof he beſtowed upon the King of *Spain* his Apoſtolical benediction, & the Title of *Defender of the Faith*: He ſent alſo Cardinal *Allen* into the *Low-Countries*, and renewed the Bulls of *Pius* the fifth and *Gregory* the thirteenth, whereby Queen *Elizabeth* was excommunicated, depoſed from her Throne, and her Subjects abſolved from all allegiance to her.

Thus we ſee what preparations were made both at Sea and Land; at *Rome*, in *Spaine*, and the *Netherlands*, for the ſubduing of *England*, extirpating the Goſpel, and ſubjugating of us under the yoke of *Spain*: Now let us ſee what proviſion and preparations our Queen made to diſpel

this black cloud that hung over her head. And truly the first thing that she did was most Christian; For as when *Iehoſaphat* was threatned with the like danger, 2 *Chro.* 20. 3. He sought the Lord and proclaimed a fast; so did she, requiring all her subjects to humble themselves by fasting and prayer, knowing that these are the best weapons of the Church, that they by them might seek unto the Lord, and say in the words of *Iehoſaphat, O Lord God, art not thou God in heaven? and rulest not thou over all the Kingdoms of the earth? and in thine hand is there not power and might, so that none is able to withstand thee? O our God, wilt thou not judge them? For we have no might against this great company that cometh against us, neither know we what to do, but our eyes are upon thee.* But in the second place, knowing that Prayers without endeavours and means are like *Rachel*, *beautiful but barren*; that she might not be taken unprovided, she prepared with all diligence as strong a Fleet as she could, and all things necessary for war; and she that in discerning mens parts and abilities was of a most sharp judgement, and ever most happy, having the free choice in herself, and not by the commendations of others, assigned to every office by name the best and fittest men.

The

The charge of her Navy she committed to *Charles Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Admiral of *England*, of whose skil she had had former experience, and whom she knew both by his moderation, and Nobility, to be wary in providence, valiant, industrious, and of great authority amongst the Seamen, and well beloved of them: Her Vice-Admiral she made the famous Sir *Francis Drake*, and these she sent to the West parts of *England*; and for the Guard of the narrow Seas, she appointed *Henry* Lord *Seimore* second son to the Duke of *Somerset*, whom she commanded also to lie upon the coasts of the *Low-countries*, with forty ships, to watch that the Prince of *Parma* might not come forth with his forces: By land she commanded the General forces of the Realm to be mustered, trained, and put in readiness in their special shires, for the defence of the whole, which accordingly was done, and whereof the Lord *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester* was appointed Leiutenant; twenty thousand whereof were disposed along our South-coast for the guard thereof: besides which, she had two armies; one of which consisting of a thousand horse, and twenty two thousand foot, was encamped at *Tilbury* neere the *Thames* mouth, whither the ene-

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enemy fully intended to come: The other which was led by the Lord *Hunſdon*, conſiſted of thirty four thouſand Foot, and two thouſand horſe, which were to be the guard of the Queens perſon: her ſelf in courage farr ſurmounting her ſex, as an other *Zenobia* or rather *Deborah*, led forth the Lords Hoſt againſt this great *Siſera*, & her ſoldiers valiant and skilful, both for courage and quick diſpatch, might well be compared to thoſe *Gadites* that came to aid *David*, whoſe faces were like the faces of Lions, and were compared to the Roes in the Mountains for ſwiftneſs.

Arthur Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, and Sir *Roger Williams*, all gallant men, and brave Soldiers, were appointed to conſult about managing the land ſervice: Theſe adviſed that all the commodious landing places for the enemy, as well from *Spain*, as from the *Low-countries* ſhould be manned and fortified, as *Milford* Haven, *Falmouth*, *Plimmouth*, *Portland*, the *Iſle of Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the open coaſt of *Kent*, commonly called the *Downs*, the *Thames* mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, *&c.* and that the trained bands throughout the Coaſt-Shires, ſhould meet upon a ſignal

given to defend the said places, and do their best to prohibit the enemies landing. But in case he should land, that then they should leave all the countrey round about wast, that so they might find nothing for food, but what from their ships they should carry upon their shoulders, and that they should hold the enemies busied both night and day with continual Alarms, but not to hazard a Battel till more Commanders with their companies were come together.

Some suggested also to the Queen, that the *Spaniards* abroad were not so much to be feared as the Papists at home; for that the *Spaniards* would not attempt the invasion of *England*, but upon confidence of aid from them. she thereupon committed some of them to prison at *Wisbeach* in the Fenns; by her Letters also she directed Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland* what he should do.

The King of *Scots* she put in mind to beware of the Papists and *Spanish* factions: By her frequent Letters, she wrote to the States of the *United Provinces* not to be deficient in assisting her what they could.

But amongst these preparations for war on both sides, *Philip* King of *Spain*, to cast a mist over her Majesties eies, and to rock her

her into a ſleep of ſecurity, importuned by all meanes the Realms unto peace, imploying the Prince of *Parma* to be his inſtrument therein, who dealt earneſtly by letters with the help of Sir *Iames Crofts*, a privy Counſeller, and a man much addicted to peace, as alſo by *Andrew van Loey*, a *Netherlander*, that a treaty of peace might be entred upon, affirming that he had Warrant thereunto from the King of *Spaine*. Our Queen meaſuring other Princes by her own guileleſs heart, gave ear to this deceitful lullaby, little ſuſpecting that a deadly ſnake could be hid in ſo fair a Garden; yet reſolved to treat of Peace with her ſword in her hand, neither was the Prince of *Parma* againſt her ſo doing.

In the month therefore of *Feb.* Commiſſioners were ſent into *Flanders*, *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, *William Brook* Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Iames Crofts*, *Valentine Dale*, and *Iohn Rogers* Doctors of the law, who arriving there, were received in the Prince of *Parmas* name with all courteſy; who thereupon ſent away *Dale* preſently to him to know where the place of meeting ſhould be, and to ſee his commiſſion from the King of *Spaine*: the place he appointed to be neer *Oſtend*, the town it ſelf

being then in the *English* hands; and as for his Commission, he promised it should be produced at their meeting: Only he wished them to hasten the matter lest any thing should happen in the interim to interrupt the treaty: and one *Richardot*, which stood by him, said more openly, *That he knew not what in the meantime might be done against England.* Which being reported to the Queen, she sent *Rogers* to the Prince to know whether there was any design for the invading of *England*, As he, and *Richardot* by their words seemed to imply: The Prince answered that he had never any thought for the invading *England*, when he wished the treaty to be hastened, and was angry with *Richardot*, who denied that any such words had fallen from him.

Commissioners for the King of *Spain* were *Maximilian* Earl of *Aremberg*, Governor of *Antwerp*, *Richardot* President of *Artois*, with some other Civilians.

These staied at *Bruges*, and for all their pretended haste, much time was cunningly spun out about the place of their meeting, which should have the Precedency, and what hostages should be given for security of the Commissioners: yet at length the *Spaniards* yeelded to the *English* Precedency

Precedency, both in going and ſitting; and the place was in Tents neer unto *Oſtend.*

The demands for the Queen were, that there might be a ſurceaſe of Arms, with a preſent and undelayed Truce, ſhe miſtruſting the *Spaniſh* preparations at ſea: The ſending away of forraign ſouldiers out of the *Low-Countries* for *Englands* ſecurity: A reſtitution of ſuch ſums of money as the Queen had lent to the States, and which the King had promiſed to reſtore: That the *Netherlanders* might enjoy their ancient liberties, and priviledges, nor be governed by a ſtranger, but by a Native Prince: That they might have liberty to ſerve God with freedom of conſcience: And laſtly, that the Articles of the Pacification of *Gaunt*, and other like treaties might be obſerved; which things if they were granted, ſhe would condeſcend upon reaſonable conditions to deliver up the towns in the *Netherlands*, which ſhe then had in poſſeſſion, that it might appear that ſhe had not for her own advantage, but for the neceſſary defence of the *Netherlands*, and her ſelf, taken up arms.

To theſe the *Spaniards* replyed, that touching their preparations at ſea, they

did assure them that it nothing concerned *England.* That to send away the souldiers, the King could not resolve till the *Netherlanders* had submitted themselves to him. Concerning their priviledges, that it appertained nothing to the Queen, neither should she prescribe to the King a Law. And so far was he from tolerating Religion, that he would not so much as hear thereof, otherwise then he had allowed to other towns that had submitted to his obedience. And as for those towns which had been taken from the King, and the money expended about them, They said that the *Spaniard* might demand as many Myriades of Duckets to be repaied to him by the Queen, as he had expended upon the *Low-Country* war, from the time that she supported the revolting *Netherlanders*, and took them into her Protection.

About this time went *Dale* by the Queens command to the Prince of *Parma*, and mildly expostulated with him about a book lately published by Cardinal *Allen*, That *English Renegado*, wherein he exhorted the Nobility and people of *England* and *Ireland* to joyn with the *Spanish* forces, under the conduct of the Prince of *Parma*, to execute the Popes sentence

already published by his Bull against Queen *Elizabeth*; wherein she was declared an Heretick, Illegitimate, cruel, for putting to death the Queen of *Scots*, &c. And her subjects absolved from their oath of Allegiance, and commanded to aid the Prince of *Parma* against her. (And indeed there was a great number of these Bulls and Books printed at *Antwerp*, from thence to be dispersed all over *England*.)

The Prince denied that he had ever seen any such Book, or Bull, neither would he undertake any thing in the Popes name; howbeit that he must obey his Prince. But for the Queen of *England*, he protested that he did so honour her for her vertues, that next to the King his Master, he esteemed her above all others, and would be ready to do her service. For the manifestation whereof, he said that he had perswaded the King to condescend to this treaty of peace, which would be more advantagious for the *English* then for the *Spaniards*: *For* (said he) *if the Spaniards be overcome, they will soon recover their loss; but if you be overcome, your Kingdom, and all is lost*: To which *Dale* made this reply. *Our Queen is provided with strength sufficient to defend her Kingdom & you your*

ſelf in your wiſdom may foreſee that a King-dom cannot be loſt with the fortune of one Battel; ſeeing the King of Spain *after ſo long wars, is not able to recover his ancient inheritance in the Netherlands.* Be it ſo (ſaid the Prince) Theſe things are in the hands of the Almighty.

After this the Commiſſioners contended with mutual debates, and replies, ſtill twiſting and untwiſting the ſame thread. For when the *Engliſh* preſſed that a toleration of Religion might be granted for the *United Provinces*, at leaſt for two years; It was anſwered, That as the *Spaniard* demanded not this for the *Engliſh* Catholicks; ſo they hoped the Queen in her wiſdom would require nothing of him which might be againſt the honour, oath, and conſcience of the *Spaniard*. When they demanded the money due from the States of *Brabant* to our Queen; They anſwered, That it was lent without the Kings knowledge, or warrant; and that the accounts being caſt up, how much the ſaid money was, and how much the King had diſburſed about the war, it would ſoon be known to whom the moſt ought to be repayed. With ſuch anſwers as theſe they dallied with the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, till the *Spaniſh* Fleet was come within the

view

iew of *England*, and the thundring of the Ordnance was heard from the Sea, which put the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners into ſome ſuſpicion and fear, having no hoſtages for their ſafe return. But they received a ſafe conduct from the Prince of *Parma* (who had in the mean time drawn down all his forces to the ſea coaſt) and ſo were conducted to the borders neer *Calis*. Thus came this Treaty to nothing, undertaken by our Queen (as was conceived) to divert the coming of the *Spaniſh* fleet: and continued by the *Spaniard* to ſurprize *England* unprovided, and at unawares. So both ſides put the Foxes skin upon the Lions head.

And now we are come to ſpeak of this *Invincible Armado*, which was the preparation of five whole years at leaſt. It bare it ſelf alſo upon Divine aſſiſtance, having received a ſpecial bleſſing from the Pope, and was aſſigned as an *Apoſtolical Miſſion* for the reducement of this Kingdom to the obedience of the See of *Rome*: and in ſurther token of this holy warfare, there were amongſt the reſt of the Ships, *twelve*, called by the names of the *twelve Apoſtles*. The Gallions and Galliaſſes were of ſuch a vaſt ſize, that they were like floating Towers and Caſtles, ſo that the

ſwelling

ſwelling waves of the ſea could hardly be ſeen; and the Flags, Streamers, and Enſigns ſo ſpread in the wind, that they ſeemed even to darken the Sun, and to threaten deſtruction which way ſoever they turned.

On the nine and twentieth day of *May* this fleet ſet ſail out of the *river Tayo*, bending its courſe towards the *Groin* in *Galizia*, the place appointed for the general Rendezvous, as being the neereſt Haven unto *England*: But whileſt they hoiſed and ſpread abroad their proud ſailes to the wind; God who is an enemy to ſuch *Nimrod-like* undertakings, and hating ſuch hoſtile actions, ſuddenly manifeſted his diſpleaſure, and poured out revenge by a ſudden and hideous tempeſt, which drave the Duke of *Medina*, the General, back again into the *Groine*; eight other of the ſhips being diſperſed on the ſeas, had their Maſts broken, and blown over board; beſides three other *Portugal* Gallies which were driven upon the coaſts of *Bayon* in *France*, where by the valour of one *David Gwin*, an Engliſh ſlave, and the help of other ſlaves, French, and Turks, they were delivered into the hands of the French, and they freed themſelves by the ſlaughter of many of the *Spaniards*, amongſt whom

whom *Don Diego de Mondrana* was one.

About the ſame time the Engliſh Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, who had in all about one hundred ſhips, whereof fifteen were Victuallers, and nine Voluntaries of *Devonſhire* Gentlemen, hearing for certain that the Spaniſh fleet was ready to hoiſe up their ſails, reſolved to put forth from *Plymouth*, and to meet, and fight them by the way; but were ſo met with by the ſame wind, that they could not get paſt the *Syllies*, and thence alſo were forced by the Tempeſt to return into their former harbour, to refreſh their ſhips, and companies; only ſome of their ſcouts at ſea deſcried ſome of the *Spaniſh* ſhips, which likewiſe had been diſperſed with the ſtorm: but before the *Engliſh* could come neer them, the wind vereing about, carryed them back to the *Groine*, where the reſt of their fleet lay in harbour.

Intelligence being brought that the *Spaniards* were in want, their great ſhips diſperſed, and the reſt ſorely ſhaken with the ſtorm, and their men dying by multitudes of the Peſtilence; the Lord Admiral *Howard* intended with the firſt Northerly wind to take advantage, which coming about upon the eighth of *July*, he launched forth, and bore his ſails almoſt within

within the ſight of *Spain*, purpoſing to ſurpriſe their weather-beaten ſhips, and to fight them upon their own coaſt. But then the wind ſuddenly changing into the South, and he wiſely foreſeeing that the enemy might paſs by without his diſcovery, that the ſeas might be ſtormy, or his Fleet windbound, and that whilſt he thus lay abroad, his ſervice might be more neceſſary at home, and that his work was to defend the coaſts of *England*, he therefore preſently returned and anchored his Fleet in the Haven at *Plimouth*, ſuffering his men to refreſh themſelves upon the land.

At the ſame time there came more confident advertiſement (though falſe) not onely to the Lord Admiral, but to the Court, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet could not poſſibly come forth again that year, upon which reports (a dangerous matter in State affairs) ſo confident was our Queen, that ſhe ſent for four of her biggeſt royal ſhips to be brought back to *Chattam*: But the Lord Admiral ſuſpecting the worſt, by a mild and moderate anſwer retarded it, deſiring that nothing might be lightly believed in ſo weighty a matter, and that he might retain them though at his own charge. Wherein indeed a ſpecial providence of

God

God did appear, for juſt at that time news was brought to the Lord Admiral by one Captain *Thomas Flemming*, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was entred into the *Britiſh* ſeas, commonly called the *Channel*, and was ſeen neer unto the *Lizard point*, which came thus to paſs.

The *Spaniſh* ſhips being new rigged, & their wants ſupplyed, their King ſtil hot on his former reſolutions, inſtantly urged and haſtened his Commanders to put forth again to ſea, which accordingly they did upon the eleventh of *Iuly* with the ſame ſouthwind which (as was ſaid before) brought back our navy into *Plimouth*; and ſo having a more favourable Gale, with brave ſhews, and full ſailes, they entred our Channel, where caſting Anchor, they diſpatched certain ſmal Pinnaces to the Prince of *Parma*, to ſignifie their arrival and readineſs, and to command him in the name of their King to forward his charge for that ſervice.

Iuly the twentieth about noon, this terrible Fleet was deſcried by the *Engliſh*, coming forward amain with a ſouth-weſt-wind. It was a kind of ſurpriſe: For that (as was ſaid) many of our men were gone to land, and our ſhips ready to depart: Nevertheleſs our undaunted Admiral

rowed

towed forth ſuch ſhips as he could get in readineſs into the deep ſea, not without great difficulty, certainly with ſingular diligence, and admirable alacrity of our marriners, cheered up with the Admirals own preſence and aſſiſtance among them at their halſer-work, the wind blowing ſtrongly into the Haven.

When they were forth, they ſaw the *Spaniſh* ſhips with lofty towers, like Caſtles, in front like an half moon, the horns whereof ſtretched forth in breadth about ſeven miles, ſayling (as it were) with labour to the winds, the Ocean groning under them; ſo that though with full ſailes, yet they came but ſlowely forward. They ſeemed as it were to make for *Plimouth*; but whether their commiſſion was otherwiſe or becauſe, contrary to their expectation, they ſaw the *Engliſh* ſhips out of the Harbour, they ſteered by towards *Callis*, hoping to meet with the Prince of *Parma*: The *Engliſh* willingly ſuffered them to paſs by, that they might the more commodiouſly chaſe them in the Reer with a fore-right wind.

July the twenty firſt the Lord Admiral of *England* ſent before him a Pinance called the *Defiance*, to denounce war by diſcharging

charging her Ordnance, himſelf following in the *Ark-Royal*, ſet upon the Admiral (as he thought) of the *Spaniards*, but it proved to be *Alonzo de Lev'as* ſhip, where fire, ſmoke, and loud thundering Canons began the parley; and rending bullets moſt freely enterchanged betwixt them, were fiery meſſengers of each others minds. Soon after came up *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbuſher*, playing with their Ordnance upon the hindmoſt Squadron of the enemies, which was commanded by *Rechalde*, who laboured all he could to ſtay his men from flying for ſhelter to the Fleet, till his own ſhip being much battered with ſhot, and now grown unſerviceable, was with much difficulty drawn into the main Fleet. At which time the Duke of *Medina* gathered together his whole Fleet, ſcattered here and there by the *Engliſh*, and hoiſing more ſaile, kept on his intended courſe toward *Callis*; neither indeed could he do otherwiſe, the wind favouring the *Engliſh*, and himſelf finding the inconvenience of their great and high built ſhips, powerful to defend, but not to offend, to ſtand but not to move: whereas on the contrary their enemies were nimble, and ready on all ſides to annoy them, and as apt to eſcape harms themſelves, being

being low built and ſo eaſily ſhot over. Hereupon he cauſed them to gather themſelves up cloſe in the form of an half moon, and to ſlacken their ſails that their whole Fleet might keep together. But our *Engliſh* Admiral having maintained an hot fight for the ſpace of two houres, thought not good to continue it any longer, thirty of his ſhips ſcarce coming to the work, the reſt being as yet ſcarce gotten out of the Harbour.

In this firſt dayes fight the Saint *Katherine*, a *Spaniſh* Ship, having been ſorely battered and much torn, was taken into the middeſt of their Fleet to be repaired: And an huge Ship of *Biſcaie* of Don *Oquendoes*, in which was a great part of the Kings treaſure, began to be all in a Flame by force of Gunpowder, which was fired on purpoſe by a *Flemiſh* gunner, for being miſuſed by them: But the fire was ſoon quenched by the aſſiſtance of ſome other ſhips ſent in to her help. All this while the *Spaniards* for want of courage (which they called *Commiſſion*) did what they could to decline the fight, caſting themſelves continually into Roundels (their ſtrongeſt ſhips walling in the reſt) in which poſture they made a flying march towards *Callis*: yet in the former medly a great Gallion, wherein

wherein was Don *Pedro de Valdez*, *Vaſques de Silva*, *Alenzo de Saias*, with orher Noble men, being ſore battered with the *Engliſh* ſhot, in avoyding whereof ſhe fell fowl upon another ſhip, and ere ſhe could be cleared had her fore-maſt broken off, which ſo hindred her ſayling, that ſhe was unable to keep way with the reſt of the Fleet, nor were their friends of courage to ſuccor theſe diſtreſſed Lords, but left both ſhip and them in this ſudden and unexpected danger. But the night coming on, our Lord Admiral ſuppoſing that they had left neither men nor Mariners abroad within her, and fearing to loſe ſight of the *Spaniards*, paſt by her, and followed the Lanthorn which he ſuppoſed to be carried by Sir *Francis Drake*, as it was appointed; but that brave Knight was eagerly purſuing five great Hulks which he took to be of the *Spaniards*, but when he came up, and haled them, they proved *Eaſterlings* and friends, and ſo were diſmiſſed: yet by this miſtake of his, the greateſt part of our Fleet, wanting the direction of his light, was forced to lye ſtill: ſo that he and the reſt of the Fleet till towards night, the next day, could not recover ſight of the Lord Admiral, who all the night before with two other ſhips, the *Bear* and the *Mary-*

Roſe followed the *Spaniſh* Lanthorn.

July the twenty ſecond, Sir *Francis Drake* eſpied the aforementioned lagging Gallion, whereupon he ſent forth a Pinnace to command them to yield, otherwiſe his bullets without any delay ſhould force them to it: *Valdes* to ſeem valorous, anſwered that they were four hundred & fifty ſtrong; that himſelf was Don *Pedro*, and ſtood on his honour, and thereupon propounded certain conditions: But the Knight returned this reply, that he had no leaſure to parley, if he would immediately yield, ſo; otherwiſe he ſhould ſoon prove that *Drake* was no daſtard. *Pedro* hearing that it was the fiery *Drake* (whoſe name was very terrible to the *Spaniards*) that had him in chaſe, preſently yielded, and with forty of his companions, came on-board Sir *Francis* his Ship, where firſt giving him the *Conge*, he proteſted that he and all his were reſolved to have dyed fighting, had they not fallen into his hands, whoſe valour and felicity was ſo great, that *Mars* and *Neptune* ſeemed to wait on him in all his attempts, and whoſe noble and generous mind towards the vanquiſhed, had often been experienced even of his greateſt foes. Sir *Francis* to requite his *Spaniſh* complements with

Engliſh

English courteſie, placed him at his own table, and lodged him in his own Cabin: the reſidue of that company he ſent to *Plimouth*, where they remained priſoners for the ſpace of eighteen months, till by payment of their ranſoms they obtained their liberty: *But Drakes* Souldiers had wel paid themſelves by the plunder of the ſhip, wherein they found fifty five thouſand Ducates of Gold, which they merrily ſhared amongſt them. The ſame day *Michael de Oquendo*, Admiral of the Squadron *Guypuſco*, and Vice-admiral of the whole Fleet, ſuffered no leſs a diſaſter; whoſe ſhip being one of the greateſt Gallions' fell on fire, and all the upper part of the ſhip being burnt, moſt alſo of the perſons therein were conſumed: howbeit the Gunpowder in the hold not taking fire, the ſhip fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*, which, together with the ſcorched *Spaniards* therein, was brought into *Plimouth*, a joyful ſpectacle to the beholders. All this day, the Duke of *Medina* laboured ſecurely to ſet his Fleet in order; To *Alphonſo de Leva* he gave in charge to joyne the firſt and the laſt ſquadron together; To every ſhip he aſſigned his quarter to ride in according to the forme preſcribed in *Spain*, commanding them upon pain of death not

to desert their stations. *Glitch*, an Ensign-bearer, he sent to the Prince of *Parma* to acquaint him with his condition.

July the twenty third, early in the morning the *Spaniards* taking the benefit of a Northerly wind, when they approched right against *Portland*, turned about against the *English*: But the *English*, nimble, and foreseeing all advantages, soon turned aside to the Westward, each striving to get the wind of the other; which at last the *English* got, and so they prepared themselves on each side to fight: and the *English* continued all day from morning till night to batter those wooden Castles with great and small shot: The fight was very confused and variable, whilst on the one side the *English* bravely rescued the *London* ships that were hemmed in by the *Spaniards*, and on the other side the *Spaniards* as stoutly delivered *Rechalde* being in danger: Never was there heard greater thundring of Ordinance on both sides, the chiefest fight being performed on this day; yet notwithstanding the shot from the *Spanish* ships for the most part flew over the *English* without hurting them, Onely *Cock* an *English* man dyed with honour in the midst of his enemies in a little ship of his. The *English* ships being far the lesser,

charged

charged that *Sea-Gyant* with marvellous agility, and having given them their broad ſides flew off again preſently, & then coming up, levelled their ſhot directly without miſſing thoſe heavy and unwieldy ſhips of the *Spaniards*. But the Lord Admiral would not hazard a fight by grapling with them, as ſome unadviſed perſons would have perſwaded him: For he conſidered that the enemie had a ſtrong Army in the Fleet, whereas he had none: that their ſhips were more in number, of bigger burden, ſtronger, and huger built ſo that they could not be boarded but with extreme diſadvantage: He foreſaw alſo that the overthrow would turn to a greater damage then the victory would avail him: For being vanquiſhed he ſhould have brought *England* into extreme hazard, and being conquerour he ſhould onely have gained a little glory to himſelf for overthrowing the Fleet, and beating the enemy. On this day the ſoreſt fight was performed, wherein beſides other remarkable harmes which the enemie ſuſtained, a great *Venetian* ſhip with ſome other ſmaller were ſurpriſed, and taken by the *Engliſh*, and the *Spaniards* were forced for their further ſafety to gather themſelves cloſe into a Roundel, their beſt and greateſt ſhips ſtanding

without that they might ſecure thoſe that were battered and leſs.

July the twentyfourth, the fight was onely between the four great Galliaſſes, and ſome of the *Engliſh* ſhips, the *Spaniards* having great advantage, theirs being rowed with oars, and ours (by reaſon of the calme) having no uſe of their ſails, notwithſtanding which they ſorely galled the enemy with their great and chain-ſhot, wherewith they cut in ſunder their tacklings, cables, and cordage to their no little prejudice. But wanting powder which they had ſpent ſo freely, and other proviſion to maintain the fight, the Lord Admiral ſent ſome of his ſmaller ſhips to the next Ports of *England* to fetch ſupply; which ſtirred up jealouſies in the heads of many, that we ſhould thus want upon our own coaſts. In which *Interim* a Council was called, wherein it was reſolved that the *Engliſh* Fleet ſhould be divided into four ſquadrons, and thoſe committed to four brave Captains, and skilful ſeamen, whereof the Lord Admiral in the *Ark-Royal* was chiefe: Sir *Francis Drake* in the *Revenge* led the ſecond: Captain *Hawkins* the third: and Captain *Forbuſher* the fourth. Other moſt valiant Captains there were in others of Her Majeſties ſhips, as the

Lord

Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Lion*, The Lord *Sheffield* in the *Bear*, Sir *Robert Southwel* in the *Elizabeth*, Captain *Baker* in the *Victory*; and Captain *George Fenner* in the *Gallion-Leiceſter*: It was alſo further appointed that out of every ſquádron certain ſmall veſſels ſhould give a charge from diverſe parts in the dead time of the night, but the calme continuing, this deſigne could not be effected.

Iuly the twenty fifth, being Saint *Iames* day, the *Spaniards* were arrived againſt the Iſle of *Wight*, where was a moſt terrible encounter, each ſhooting off their whole broad ſides, and that not above ſixſcore yards the one from the other: There the Saint *Anne*, a Gallion of *Portugal*, which could not hold courſe with the reſt, was ſet upon by certain ſmall *Engliſh* veſſels, to whoſe reſcue came *Leva* and *Don Diego Telles Enriques* with three Galliaſſes: which the Lord Admiral himſelf and the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Golden Lion*, rowing their ſhips with their boats (ſo great was the calme) charged in ſuch ſort with their roaring Canons, that they had much ado, and that not without loſs, to ſave the Gallion, from which time forward none of the Galliaſſes would undertake the fight. The *Spaniards* reported

that the *Engliſh* the ſame day beat the *Spaniſh* Admiral in the utter ſquadron, rending her ſore with their Great Ordnance, and having ſlain many of her men, ſhot down her main Maſt, and would have much endangered her, but that *Mexia* and *Rechalde* came in good time to her reſcue. That the *Spaniſh* Admiral, aſſiſted by *Rechalde*, and others, ſet upon the *Engliſh* Admiral, which happily eſcaped by the ſudden turning of the wind. That thereupon the *Spaniards* gave over their purſuite, and holding on their courſe, diſpatched again a meſſenger to the Prince of *Parma* to joyn his Fleet with all ſpeed to the Kings *Armado*, and withal to ſend them a ſupply of great ſhot: But theſe things were unknown to the *Engliſh*, who wrote that from one of the *Spaniſh* ſhips they had ſhot down their Lanthorne, and from another the Beak-head, and that they had done much hurt to the third: That the *Non-parrella* and the *Mary-Roſe* had fought a while with the *Spaniards*: and that other ſhips had reſcued the *Triumph* which was in danger: the truth is, they had ſo ſorely battered thoſe Huge wooden Caſtles, that once more they forced them for their further ſafety to gather themſelves into a Roundel.

July

July the twenty ſixth, the Lord Admiral, to encourage and reward the noble attempts of his gallant Captains, beſtowed the Order of Knighthood upon the Lords *Howard*, and *Sheffield*: *Roger Townſend*, *Iohn Hawkins*, *Martin Forbuſher*, and others: And yet the vain-glorious and boaſting *Spaniards* cauſed a report to be ſpread in *France*, that *England* was wholly conquered by them. It was reſolved by our men that from thenceforth they ſhould aſſail the enemy no more till they came to the *Britiſh Frith*, or ſtrait of *Callis*, where the Lord *Henry Seimore* and Sir *William Winter*, with the ſhips which they had for the guard of the narrow Seas, waited their coming; and ſo with a fair gale from the South Weſt, and by South, the *Spaniſh* Fleet ſayled forward, the *Engliſh* Fleet following it cloſe at the heeles. And ſo far was it from terrifying our *Engliſh* coaſts with the name of *Invincible*, or with its huge and terrrible ſpectacle, that our brave *Engliſh* youth with an incredible alacrity, leaving parents, wives, children, kinsfolke and friends, out of their entire love to their native country, hired ſhips from all parts at their own proper charges, and joyned with the Fleet in great numbers, amongſt whom were

the

the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*: *Thomas*, and *Robert Cecil*: *Henry Brook*: *Charles Blunt*: *Walter Raleigh*: *William Hatton*: *Robert Carey*: *Ambrose Willoughby*: *Thomas Gerard*: *Arthur Gorges*, and many others of great note.

Iuly the twenty seventh, the *Spanish* Fleet making forward, towards evening, came over against *Dover*, and Anchored before *Callis*, intending for *Dunkerk* there to joyne with the Prince of *Parma's* forces, well perceiving that without their assistance they could do nothing: They were also warned by the Pilots that if they proceeded any farther it was to be feared lest they should be driven by the force of the tide into the Northern Ocean. The *English* Fleet following up hard upon them, cast Anchor so near that they lay within Culvering shot; at which time the Lord *Henry Seimore*, and *Winter* joyned their ships to them, so that now the *English* Fleet consisted of one hundred and forty sail, all able ships to fight, sail, and turn about which way soever they pleased. Yet were they not above fifteen that sustained the greatest burden of the fight. From hence once more the Duke of *Medina* sent to the Prince of *Parma* to hasten

ſten forth his long expected, and much deſired forces: with which meſſengers many of the *Spaniſh* Noble men went to land, having had enough of the ſea; amongſt whom was the Prince of *Aſcoli*, the Kings baſe ſon, who returned to his ſhip no more; & indeed wel it was for him, for that his Gallion was afterwards caſt away upon the *Iriſh* coaſt, and never returned to ſalute *Spain*. Theſe meſſengers earneſtly prayed the Prince of *Parma* to put forth to Sea with his Army, which the *Spaniſh* Fleet ſhould protect, as it were under her wings, till it was landed in *England*. And indeed the Prince of *Parma*, hearing the beſt, and not the worſt of this voyage, made all things ready that lay in his charge, whoſe hopes were ſo fixed upon *Englands* conqueſt, and the glittering Diadem upon Queen *Elizabeths* head did ſo dazel his ambitious eyes, being aſſured by cardinal *Allen* that he was the man deſigned to be crowned therewith, that neglecting the Coronet of the *Low-Country*-government, he transferred the charge thereof upon Count *Mansfield* the elder, and having made his vows to the Lady of *Hall* in *Heinault*, he was already in conceit no leſs then a King. But the date of his reigne was ſoon expired, and his ſwel-

ling

ling tide fallen into a low ſhallow ebb: For the day following in his march to *Dunkirk*, he heard the thundring Ordnance ringing the paſſing peal of his hopes and title, and the ſame evening had news of the hard-ſucceſs of the *Spaniards*, the hoped advancers of his dreamed felicity; and indeed doe what he could, he could not be ready at the *Spaniards* call: His flat-bottomed boats for the ſhallow Channels leaked; his proviſion of victuals proved unready, and his mariners (having hitherto been detained againſt their wills) had withdrawn themſelves: there lay alſo watching before the Havens of *Dunkirk*, and *Newport*, whence he was to put forth to ſea, the men of War of the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, ſo well provided with great ordnance and Muſketiers, that he could not put from the ſhore unleſs he would wilfully caſt himſelf and his men upon imminent perils and dangers of deſtruction: and yet he being a skilful and experienced commander, omitted no means, being inflamed with a deſire to conquer *England*.

But Queen *Elizabeths* foreſight prevented both his diligence and the credulous hope of the *Spaniards*. For by her command the next day after the

Spaniards

Spaniards had caſt Anchor, the Lord Admiral made ready eight of his worſt ſhips, filled with wild-fire, pitch, roſin, brimſtone, and other combuſtible matter: their Ordnance were charged with bullets, ſtones, chains, and ſuch like things, fit inſtruments of death; and all the men being taken out, upon the Sabbath day, *July* the twenty eighth, at two of the clock after midnight, were they let drive with wind and tide, under the guidance of *Young* and *Prowſe*, amongſt the *Spaniſh* Fleet. And ſo the Pilots returning, and and their trains taking fire, ſuch a ſudden thunderclap was given by them, that the affrighted *Spaniards*, it being the dead time of the night, were amazed, and ſtricken with an horrible fear, leſt all their ſhips ſhould have been fired by them. And to avoid this preſent miſchief, being in great perplexity, they had no other remedy to avoid theſe deadly engines, and murthering inventions, then by cutting their cables inſunder, the time being two ſhort to weigh up their Anchors, and ſo hoiſing up their ſails to drive at random into the ſeas: in which haſt and confuſion the greateſt of their Galliaſſes fell foul upon another ſhip, and loſt her rudder, and ſo floted up and down, and the

next day fearfully making towards *Callis*, ran a ground upon the ſands, where ſhe was ſet upon by the *Engliſh*. This Galliaſs was of *Naples*: Her General was *Heugh de Moncado*, who fought the more valiantly, becauſe he expected preſent help from the Prince of *Parma*: But Sir *Amias Preſton* gave ſuch a fierce aſſault upon her, that *Moncado* was ſhot dead with a bullet, and the Galliaſs boarded, wherein many of the *Spaniards* were ſlain, and a great many others leaping into the ſea were drowned, onely Don *Antonio de Matiques*, a principal Officer, had the good hap to eſcape, and was the firſt man that carried the unwelcome news into *Spain*, that their *Invincible Navy* proved vincible. This huge bottom manned with four hundred Soldiers, and three hundred ſlaves, that had in her fifty thouſand ducats of the *Spaniſh* Kings treaſure, fell into the Engliſh mens hands; a reward well befitting their valour, who ſharing it merrily amongſt them, and freeing the miſerable ſlaves from their fetters, would have fired the empty veſſel: but Monſieur *Gourdon*, Governour of *Callis*, fearing that the fire might endanger the town, would not permit them to do it, bending his Ordnance againſt thoſe which attempted it.

Had

Had not this politick Stratagem of the fire-ſhips been found out, it would have been very difficult for the *Engliſh* to have diſlodged them; for thoſe huge ſhips had their bulks ſo ſtrengthened with thick planks, and maſſie beams, that our Bullets might ſtrike, and ſtick, and yet never paſs through them: So that the greateſt hurt which our *Engliſh* Canon did, was onely by rending their Maſts and tacklings.

The *Spaniards* report that the Duke of *Medina*, when theſe burning ſhips approched, commanded the whole Fleet to weigh Anchor to avoid them; yet ſo, as having ſhunned the danger, preſently every ſhip to return to her former ſtation, which accordingly he did himſelf, giving a ſignal to the reſt to do the like, by diſcharging one of his great Guns; but in this general conſternation the warning was heard but of a few, the reſt being ſcattered all about, which for fear were driven ſome into the wide Ocean, and other upon the ſhallows of *Flanders*.

July the twenty ninth, after this miſerable diſaſter, the *Spaniards* ranging themſelves into the beſt order they could, approching over againſt *Graveling*, where once again the *Engliſh* getting the wind of them,

them, deprived them of the conveniency of *Callis* road, and kept them from ſupply out of *Dunkirk*, from whence reſted their full hope of ſupport. In the mean while *Drake* and *Fenner* played inceſſantly with their great Ordnance upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and with them preſently joyned *Fenton*, *Southwel*, *Beeſton*, *Croſs*, *Riman*, and laſtly the Lord Admiral himſelf, with the Lords, *Thomas Howard*, and *Scheffeild*: On the other hand, the Duke of *Medina*, *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Richalde*, and others of them, with much a do gat cleer of the ſhallows, and ſuſtained the charge as wel as they could, yet were moſt of their ſhips pittifully torn and ſhot through, the fight continuing from morning till night, which indeed proved very diſmal to the *Spaniards*; for therein a great Gallion of *Biſcay* periſhed, the Captains whereof to avoid ignominy, or to be reputed valourous, deſperatly flew each other. In which diſtreſs alſo two other great Ships preſently ſunk. The Gallion Saint *Mathew* under the command of Don *Diego Piementelli*, coming to reſcue Don *Franciſco de Toledo* who was in the Saint *Philip*, was, together with the other, miſerably torn with ſhot, their tacklings ſpent, and their bulks rent, ſo that

that the water entred in on all ſides, which fight was maintained againſt them by *Seimore* and *Winter*; In which diſtreſs they were driven near *Oſtend*, where again they were ſhot through and through by the *Zelanders*: Their deſperate condition being known, the Duke of *Medina* ſent his own skiff for Don *Diego Pimentelli*, Camp-maſter, and Colonel over thirty two bands: But he in a *Spaniſh* Bravado refuſed to leave his Ship, and like a Souldier aſſayed every way to free himſelf: But being unable to do it, he forthwith made towards the coaſt of *Flanders*, where being again ſet upon by five *Dutchmen* of war, was required to yield, which finally he did unto Captain *Peter Banderdueſs*, who carried him into *Zeland*: and for a Trophy of his victory hung up his Banner in the Church of *Leiden*, whoſe length reached from the very roof to the ground: Another alſo of the *Spaniſh* ſhips coaſting for *Flanders*, was caſt away upon the ſands.

Franciſco de Toledo alſo, being likewiſe a Colonel over thirty two Bands in the other Gallion, taking his courſe for the coaſt of *Flanders*, his ſhip proved ſo leak, that himſelf with ſome others of the chief betook themſelves to their skiff, and ar-

rived at *Ostend*, the ship with the residue being taken by the *Flushingers*.

The *Spaniards* now finding their welcom into *England* far worse then they expected, were content to couch their Fleet as close together as they could, not seeking to offend their enemies, but onely to defend themselves, and the wind coming to the southwest, in the same order they passed by *Dunkirk*, the *English* still following them at the heels. But lest the Prince of *Parma* should take this advantage to put forth to sea, the Lord Admiral dispatched the Lord *Henry Seimore* with his squadron of smal ships to the coast of *Flanders*, to joyn with those *Hollanders*, which there kept watch under *Iustin* of *Nassau*, their Admiral. This *Holland* Fleet consisted of thirty five ships, furnished with most skilful Marriners, and twelve hundred Muskiteers, old experienced Soldiers, whom the States had culled out of several Garisons: Their charge was to stop up the *Flemish* Havens, and to prevent entercourse with *Dunkirk*, whither the Prince of *Parma* was come, and would fain have adventured forth, though his men were unwilling, hearing how their friends had been entertained at sea: Onely the *English* fugitives, being about seven

hundred

hundred in number, under that treacherous Knight, Sir *William Stanley*, were very forward to be the first that should assault *England*.

July the 31 betimes in the morning the North-west-wind blew hard, and the *Spanish* Fleet laboured by that advantage to return to the narrow strait, but were driven towards *Zeland*: whereupon the *English* gave off the chase, because they saw them carried almost to their utter ruine; for they could not but run a ground upon the sands and shallows neer *Zeland*: but the wind turning presently into the South west and by west, they sailed before the wind, by which means they were cleared of the Shallowes, and so that evening they called a council what to do, and by consent it was resolved to return into *Spain* by the Northern Ocean: for that they wanted many necessaries, especially great shot; three Ships also were pittifully torn, and their remained no hope that the Prince of *Parma* would or could bring forth his Fleet.

The *Armado* having now gotten more sea-room for their huge-bodied bulks, spread their main sailes, and made away as fast as wind and water would give them leave: More fearing the small Fleet

and forces of the *English* (though far inferiour to them) then standing upon terms of honour either for the credit of their Commanders, or their *Invincible Navy*: But surely if they had known the want of Powder ours sustained (a fault inexcusable upon our own coasts) they no doubt would have stood better to their tacklings: But God in this, as in all the rest, infatuated them, and would have us to acknowledge that our deliverance was by his own gracious providence and power, and not by any strength or policy of our own.

The *Spanish* Fleet being now carried forth into the deep, they directed their course Northward, and our *English* Admiral followed them, lest they should attempt to put into *Scotland*, against whom they now and then turned head, but stood not to it: Yet most men thought they would return, whereupon our Queen with a manly courage took view of her Army, and camp at *Tilbury*, and walking through the ranks of Armed men placed on both sides, with a Leaders Truncheon in her hand, sometimes in a martial pace, and other sometimes like a woman, incredible it is how much she strengthned and encouraged the hearts both of her Captains and Souldiers with her speech and

presence. But contrary to expectation, the enemies with their sails spread, betook themselves to an absolute flight and leaving *Scotland* on the West, they bended their course towards *Norway*, being ill advised therein, (but their necessity urged, and God had infatuated their counsels) thus to adventure to put their shaken and battered bottoms into those black and dangerous seas. Neither was the climate healthful for the crazed bodies of the *Spaniards*, overbeaten, and tired with wants, they being now entred the fifty seventh degree of Northerly Latitude; from whence our Lord Admiral returned, leaving onely some Scouts to discover their success.

When the Prince of *Parma* came to *Dunkirk*, the *Spaniards* entertained him with opprobrious speeches, as if in favour of Queen *Elizabeth*, he had neglected his opportunity, and willingly overthrown so hopeful a design. The Prince to give them some satisfaction punished his purveiors of victuals, yet withal laughing in his sleeve at the insolency of the *Spaniards*, having heard them formerly to make their boasts that whithersoever they went they carried assured victory along with them and that the *English* durst not once abide

to look them in the face.

The *Spaniards* (as was ſaid even now) being freed from the *Engliſh* that had haunted them like their Ghoſts, conſulted moſt ſeriouſly what was next to be done: they were very tender of the Popes credit, who had propheſied that this attempt would be fortunate & ſucceſful. The wrath of King *Philip* of *Spain* was to be feared, his vaſt expences being thus loſt, and his hopes fruſtrated: other adventurers would be undon: the glory of the *Spaniards* would be laid in the duſt: the *invincible Navy* become a ſcorn, and *England* would ſtill be *England*, not lorded over by the *Spaniards*, if without further attempt they ſhould return into *Spain*. But on the other hand they conſidered that five thouſand of their ſouldiers were ſlain: multitudes of the Survivors lay ſick or maimed upon their hands: Twelve of their greateſt ſhips were ſunk, loſt, or taken: their Cables, Maſts, and ſails were cut, rent and broken with the *Engliſh* ſhot. Their Anchors left in the road of *Calis*: their victuals failed: Their freſh water was ſpent: and their enemies no leſs fierce, undaunted, and ſucceſsful then at the firſt: The Prince of *Parma* though long in preparing, yet ſtill unready, and

kept

kept in by the Dutch, Queen *Elizabeths* firm Allies: which circumstances wisely ballanced, the vote went currant for their hastning to *Spain*.

But withal knowing that the King of *Scots* (fast knit in affection and blood to our Queen) would yield them no supplies; and having as little hope that *Norway* would afford them any, they cast all their Horses and Mules overboard, for the sparing of their fresh water: and so framing their course to sail abut *Cathenes*, and the coasts of *Ireland*, they steered between the *Orcades* and the Isles of *Farr*, unto the sixty first degree of Latitude. From whence the Duke of *Medina*, with his best stored ships, took westward over the main Ocean towards *Biscay*, and at last arrived safely in *Spain*: where for his welcome, he was deposed from all his authority, forbidden to come at Court, and commanded to live private; neither could he give satisfaction by his bad excuses, albeit he imputed it to the treachery of his Mariners; to their ignorance, and smal experience of those Northern seas, The want of succours from the Prince of *Parma*; the Tempests, Shipwracks and ill fortune: but not a word of the judgement of God upon that Giant-like undertaking to enslave all *England*

to the *Spaniſh* yoke.

The reſidue of the Ships, being about forty in number, fell nearer with the coaſt of *Ireland*, intending to touch at Cape *Clare*, well hoping there to refreſh themſelves, and ſupply their wants: but the winds proving contrary and tempeſtuous upon thoſe dangerous ſeas, many of their ſhips periſhed upon the *Iriſh* ſhores, and amongſt others a great Galliaſs, wherein *Michael de Oquendo* was commander, and two other *Venetian* ſhips of great burden, beſides thirty eight more, with moſt of the *Spaniards* contained in them. Such as got clear of the danger, put forth to ſea; ſome of which by a ſtrong weſt wind were driven into the *Engliſh* Channel, where ſome of them were again ſet upon and taken by the *Engliſh*, others by men of *Rochel* in *France*, and ſome arrived at *New haven* in *Normandy*: So that of one hundred thirty four ſhips that ſet ſail out of *Liſbon*, onely fifty three returned into *Spain*: Of the four Galiaſſes of *Naples* but one: of the four Gallions of *Portugal*, but one: of the ninety one *Gallions*, and great Hulks from divers Provinces, onely thirty three returned, fifty eight being loſt. In brief, they loſt in this voyage eighty one veſſels, thirteen thouſand

ſand, five hundred and odd Soldiers. Priſoners taken in *England*, *Ireland*, and the *Low-countries* were above two thouſand: Amongſt thoſe in *England*, Don *Pedro de Valdez*, Don *Vaſques de Silva*, and Don *Alonzo, de Saies*, and others were kept for their ranſome. In *Ireland* Don *Alonzo de Luzon*: *Roderigo de Laſſe*, and others of great account: In *Zeland* was Don *Diego Piementelli*: To be brief, there was no famous, or noble family in all *Spain*, which in this expedition loſt not a ſon, brother, or kinſman. And thus this *Armado* which had been ſo many years in preparing, and rigging with ſuch vaſt expence, was in one month many times aſſaulted, and at length wholly defeated with the ſlaughter of ſo many of her men, not one hundred of the *Engliſh* being lacking, nor one ſmall ſhip of theirs taken, or loſt, ſave onely that of *Cocks*: and having traverſed round about all *Britain*, by *Scotland*, the *Orcades* and *Ireland*, moſt grievouſly toſſed, and very much diſtreſſed, and waſted by ſtormes, wracks, and all kinds of miſery, at length came lamely home, with perpetual diſhonor; whereupon *Medals* were ſtamped in memory thereof, A Fleet flying with full ſailes, with this inſcription, *Venit, vidit, fugit*, It came, it ſaw, it fled: Others in

honour

honour of our Queen, with flaming ſhips, and a Fleet in a great confuſion, and this Motto, *Dux fœmina facti*, A woman was conductor of the fact.

In the aforementioned wracks above ſeven hundred ſouldiers and ſailors were caſt on land in *Scotland*, who (upon the interceſſion of the Prince of *Parma* to the King of *Scots*, and by the permiſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*) were after a years time ſent over into the *Low-Countries*: But more unmercifully were thoſe miſerable wretches dealt withal, whoſe hap was to be driven by tempeſt into *Ireland*: Some of them being ſlain by the wild *Iriſh* (their old friends) and others of them being put to death by the command of the Lord Deputy: For he fearing leſt they might joyne with the *Iriſh* to diſturb the peace of the Nation, commanded *Bingham*, Governour of *Connaught* to deſtroy them: but he, refuſing to deal ſo rigorouſly with thoſe that had yielded themſelves, He ſent *Fowle*, Deputy-Marſhall, who drew them out of their lurking holes, and cut off the heads of above two hundred of them; which fact the Queen from her heart condemed, and abhorred as a fact of too great cruelty. The remainder of them being terrified herewith,

with, ſick and ſtarve: as they were, committed themſelves to ſea in their ſhattered veſſels, and were many of them ſwallowed up by the waves.

The *Spaniards* charged the whole fault of their overthrow upon the Prince of *Parma*, as if in favour to our Queen he had wilfully and artificially delayed his coming to them: But this was but an invention, and pretention given out by them, partly upon a *Spaniſh* envy againſt that Prince, he being an *Italian*, and his ſon a Competitor to the kingdom of *Portugal*: But chiefly to ſave the ſcorne and monſtrous diſreputation which they and their Nation received by the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe: Therefore their colours and excuſes (forſooth) were, That their General by ſea had a limited commiſſion, not to fight till the land forces were come in to them, and that the Prince of *Parma* had particular reaches and ends of his own to croſs the deſigne.

But it was both a ſtrange Commiſſion, and a ſtrange Obedience to a Commiſſion, for men in the midſt of their own blood, and being ſo furiouſly aſſailed, to hold their hands, contrarie to the Lawes of Nature and neceſſity. And as for the Prince of *Parma*, he was reaſonably well tempted

Lempted to be true to that enterprise, by no less promise then to be made a Feudatory or Beneficiary King of *England* under the Seignory (in chief) of the Pope, and the protection of the King of *Spaine*, Besides, it appeared that the Prince of *Parma* held his place long after of the Government of the *Netherlands*, in the favour and trust of the King of *Spain*, and by the great imployments and services that he performed in *France*. It is also manifest that this Prince did his best to come down, and put to sea: The truth was, that the *Spanish* Navy, upon those proofs of Fight which they had with the *English*, finding how much hurt they received, and how little hurt they did, by reason of the activity, and low building of our ships, and skill of our Sea-men; and being also commanded by a General of small courage and experience, & having lost at first two of their bravest commanders at Sea, *Pedro de Valdez*, and *Michael de Oquenda*, durst not put it to a battel at Sea, but set up their rest wholly upon the Land enterprise. On the other side, the transportation of the Land forces failed in the very foundation, For, whereas the Council of *Spain* made full account that their Navy should be Master of the Sea,

and

and therfore able to guard and protect the veſſels of tranſportation: when it fell out to the contrary, that the great Navy was diſtreſſed, and had enough to do to ſave it ſelf, and that their Land-forces were impounded by the *Hollanders*. Things (I ſay) being in this ſtate, it came to paſs that the Prince of *Parma* muſt have flown, if he would have come into *England*, for he could get neither Bark, nor Mariner to put to Sea. Yet certain it is that the Prince looked for the coming back of the *Armada* even at that time when they were wandring, and making their perambulation upon the Northern ſeas.

Thus we ſee the curſe of God and his threatning in Scripture accompliſhed: *They came out againſt us one way, and they fled ſeven waies before us*: making good (even to the aſtoniſhment of all Poſterity) the wonderful judgements of God poured out commonly upon ſuch vaſt and proud aſpirings.

After this glorious deliverance of our land by the power of the *Omnipotent*, and the wild Bore repelled that ſought to lay waſte *Englands* fair and fruitful vineyard, our gracious and Godly Queen (who ever held Ingratitude a capital ſin, eſpecially towards her *Almighty Protectour*) as ſhe

had begun with prayer, so she ended with Praise, commanding solemn *Thanksgiving* to be celebrated to the Lord of Hosts at the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul* in her chiefe City of *London*, which accordingly was done upon Sabbath the eighth of *September*: at which time eleven of the *Spanish* Ensignes (once the badges of their bravery, but now of their vanity and ignominy,) were hung upon the lower battlements of that Church, as Palmes of praise for *Englands* deliverance: a shew no doubt more pleasing to God then when their spread colours did set out the pride of the *Spaniards*, threatning the blood of so many innocent and faithful Christians.

Queen *Elizabeth* her self, to be an example unto others, upon Sabbath the twenty fourth of *September*, came from her Palace of *White-hall* in *Westminster*, through the streets of *London* (which were hung with blew Cloth, the companies of the City standing in their liveries on both sides with their Banners in goodly order) being carried in a Chariot drawn with two Horses to *Pauls* Church, where dismounting from her Chariot at the west door, she humbled herself upon her knees, and with great devotion, in an audible

voice ſhe praiſed God as her onely *Defender*, who had delivered her ſelf and people from the bloody deſignes of ſo cruell an enemy. The Sermon then preached tended wholly to give all the glory to God, as the Author of this wonderful deliverance: and when that was ended, her Majeſty herſelf, with moſt princely and Chriſtian ſpeeches exhorted all the people to a due performance of thoſe religious ſervices of thankfulneſs which the Lord expected and required of them.

About the ſame time the Fair being kept in *Southwark*, the *Spaniſh* Flags were hung up at *London Bridge*, to the great joy of the beholders, and eternal infamy of the *Spaniards* proud attempts, as irreligious as unſucceſſeful. But the ſolemn day appointed for thanksgiving throughout the land was the nineteenth of *November* being Tueſday, which accordingly was obſerved with great joy and praiſing of God; and well it were if it had ſo continued ſtill, being no leſs a deliverance then was that of *Purim* amongſt the *Jews*, which they inſtituted to be kept holy throughout their generations.

The *Zelanders* alſo, to leave a memorial of their thankfulneſs to God, and their faithfulneſs to our Queen, cauſed *Medals*

of ſilver to be ſtamped, having engraven on the one ſide the Armes of their countrey; with this inſcription, *Glory to God alone*, and on the reverſe, the pourtracture of great ſhips, under written, *the Spaniſh Fleet*, and in the circumference, *It came, It went, It was*, *Anno* 1588. In other medals alſo were ſtamped ſhips floating, and ſinking, and in the revetſe, Supplicants upon their knees, with this Motto, *man propoſeth, God diſpoſeth*, 1588. The *Hollanders* alſo ſtamped ſome medals with *Spaniſh* ſhips and this motto, *Impius fugit nemine ſequente*: the wicked fly when none purſues.

Our Queen, to ſhew her gratitude as well to the inſtruments as to the Anthor of this great deliverance, aſſigned certain yearely rents to the Lord Admiral for his gallant ſervice, and many times commended him, and the other Captains of her ſhips, as men born for the preſervation of their countrey. The reſt ſhe graciouſly ſaluted by name as oft as ſhe ſaw them, as men of notable deſerts, wherewith they held themſelves well apaid, and thoſe which were wounded, maimed, or poor, ſhe rewarded with competent penſions.

The Lord of Hoſts having thus diſpel-

led this ſtorm, the Queen diſſolved her camp at *Tilbury*, and not long after the Earl of *Leiceſter* ended his dayes, having been a Peer of great eſtate and honour, but liable to the common deſtiny of *Great ones*, whom all men magnifie in their life time, but few ſpeak well of after their death.

This admirable deliverance was congratulated by almoſt all other Nations, eſpecially by all the reformed Churches, and many learned men celebrated the ſame in verſe; amongſt which I ſhall onely mention two: The firſt was that Poem made by reverend Mr. *Beza*, tranſlated into all the chief languages in Chriſtendom to, be perpetuated to all enſuing poſteritie. It was this;

Straverat innumeris Hiſpanus claſſibus æquor,
Regnis junctturus Sceptra Britanna ſuis
Tanti hujus rogitas quæ motus cauſa? ſuperbos
Impulit Ambitio, vexat Avaritia.
Quam bene te Ambitio merſit vaniſſima ventus!
Et tumidæ tumidas unus ſuperaſtis æquæ!
Quam bene Rapteres Orbis totius Iberos
Merſit inexhauſti juſta vorago Maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat Æquor,

Regina O mundi totius una decus:
Sic regnare Deo perge, Ambitione remota,
Prodiga sic opibus perge juvare pios;
At te Angli longum, longùm Anglis ipsa fruaris,
Quam dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

Spaines King with Navies great the Seas bestrewd,
T'augment with *English* crown his *Spanish* sway:
Ask ye what caus'd this proud attempt? t'was
Ambition drove, & *Avarice* led the way. (lewd
Its well; ambitions windy puff lies drown'd
By winds, & swelling hearts by swelling waves:
Its wel; those *Spaniards* who the *worlds* vast round
Devour'd, devouring sea most justly craves.
But thou O *Queen*, for whom *Winds*, *Seas* do warr,
O thou the glory of this worlds wide Mass,
So reign to God still, from *Ambition* far,
So still with bounteous aides the *Good* imbrace:
That thou maist *England* long, long *England* thee
Thou terror of al *Bad*, thou *Good* mens joy. (enjoy

The other is that, made by Mr. Samuel Ward *of* Ipswich.

Octogesimus Octavus, *Mirabilis annus*
Clade Papistarum, Faustus ubique piis.
In *Eighty eight Spain* arm'd with potent might
Against our peaceful land came on to fight:
The *Winds*, and *Waves*, and *Fire* in one conspire
To help the *English*, frustrate *Spaines* desire.

Books

Books formerly Published by this Author.

THe Saints Noſegay: or a Poſy of ſpirituall Flowers.

The marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory conſiſting of two parts, whereof the firſt contains the lives of one hundred forty and eight Fathers, Schoolmen, firſt Reformers, and modern Divines, with the lively effigies of many of them: The ſecond contains the lives of two and twenty Chriſtian Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other choiſe

Christians, from the Primitive times to this preſent age.

A general Martyrologie, or a Collection of all the greateſt perſecutions which the Church of Chriſt in other Countries hath ſuffered from the Creation to our preſent times: whereunto is annexed the lives of Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Mr. *Arthur Hilderſam*, Mr. *Hugh Clark*, Dr. *Potter*, *B.B.* of Carliſle, Mr. *Rich. Sedgwick*, Mr. *Robert Balſom*, Mr. *John Dod*, Mr. *Herbert Palmer*, Mr. *John Ball*, Mr. *Richard Rothwel*, Mr. *Julines Herring*, *and* Dr. *Preſton*.

An Engliſh Martyrology of

of all the Perſecutions which have be alne our Church, from the firſt plantation of the Goſpel to the end of *queen Maries* reign, whereunto is annexed the lives of *Gaſper Coligni*, Admiral of *France*: *Joan* queen of *Navar*, Dr. *Collet*, Dean of *Pauls*. Mr. *Coverdale*. Dr. *Sands*, *A. B.* of *York*, Mr. *Richard Greenham*, Mr. *Paul Bains*, Mr. *William Bradſhaw*, Mr. *Rich. Stock*, Dr. *Sibs*, Dr. *Tho. Tailor*, and Dr. *Chaderton*.

A mirror, or Looking-glaſs both for Saints, and ſinners, held forth in ſome thouſands of Examples, as of Gods wonderful mercies

to

to the one, ſo of his ſevere judgements againſt the other; whereunto is annexed,

A Geographical deſcription of all the countries in the known world, with the moſt famous Cities, Temples, Structures, Statues, Cabinets of rarities, &c. which have been or now are in the world.

As alſo the wonders of God in nature: The greateſt Rivers, ſtrangeſt Fountains, various Minerals, Stones, Trees, Herbs, Plants, Gums, &c. which are to be found in every countrey.

As alſo of the rareſt Beaſts, Fowls, Birds, Fiſhes, and Serpents

Books Publiſhed by this Author.

Serpents which are leaſt known amongſt us.

The life of *Tamerlane* the Great.

FINIS.

Christian Reader,

LEast the remembrance of so signal a mercy, and deliverance vouchsafed by God both to our Church and State should be buried in Oblivion, I have (at the request of the Book-seller) presented thee here with a true and faithfull Narrative of that grand work of darkness forged in Hell, and by Satan suggested to some Popish instruments, who envying the peace and prosperity of our Church, & progresse of the Gospel, had designed at one blow to overthrow both: and that nothing might be wanting to compleat that horrid wickednesse, their purpose was to have charged it upon the Puritans, thereby hoping to free themselves, and their Religion from the imputation of so hainous a crime. Now that the memorial of a mercy of such publike and generall concernment should not be forgotten, we have the word of the eternal God to be our guide therein; when the Lord had by his Angel destroyed the first-born of Egypt, and spared Israel, he instituted the feast of the Passover to continue the memorial thereof through their genenerations, Exod. 12. 11, 12, 14. & v. 26. 27. saith Moses to them, when your children shall say unto you, what mean you by this service? ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the Lords Passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses. And how careful good Mordecai was to continue the remembrance of that great deliverance of the people of God from destruction plotted, and contrived by that wicked Haman, appears

Esther 9.20,&c. *where they did not only celebrate those present dayes of their deliverance with feasting, and gladness: but he, together with the rest of the Jewes ordained, and took upon them, and their seed, and upon all such as joyned themselves unto them, so as it should not fail, that they would keep those daies in their appointed time every year, and that those daies should be remembred, and kept through their generations, every Family, every Province, and every City, and that those daies of Purim should not fail from amongst the Jews, nor the memorial of them perish from their seed, &c. And truly the remembrance of this great mercy hath the more need to be revived at this time, when some noted persons amongst us begin to lessen, and decry it, and wholly to lay aside the observation of that day, though enjoyned by Act of Parliament, and made conscience of by most of the godly people of the Nation. I have also been induced the rather to make this brief collection of the Story, because, though it be published by others; yet it is in larger Volumes, which are not every ones money; whereas for a small matter every family may get and keep this by them for their benefit, and satisfaction both of themselves and children, that so the Lord may not lose of his glory, nor they (for want of information) fail of their duty. I shall conclude with that of the Psalmist, Ps. 107.8.* O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness: & for his wonderful works to the children of men: *which is the hearty desire of*

Thine for thy spiritual good,

Sam. Clarke.

The deliverance of our Church and State from the Hellish Powder-plot. 1605.

THe Plot was to undermine the Parliament house, and with Powder to blow up the King, Prince, Clergy, Nobles, Knights, and Burgesses, the very confluence of all the flower of Glory, Piety, Learning, Prudence and Authority in the Land: Fathers, Sons, Brothers, Allies, Friends, Foes, Papists, and Protestants, all at one blast.

Their intent, when that religious atchievment had been performed, was, to surprize the remainder of the Kings life, to alter Religion and Government, and to bring in a forreigne power. Sir *Edmund Baynam*, an attainted person (who stiled himself *Prince of the damned crew*) was sent unto the Pope as he was a temporal Prince to acquaint him with the Gunpowder-plot: and now to the Plot it self.

The Sessions of Parliament being dissolved, *July* the 7th. *Anno Christi*, 1605.

and prorogued to the ſeventh of *February* following: *Cateſby* being at *Lambeth*, ſent for *Thomas Winter*, who before had been imployed into *Spain*, and acquainted him with the deſign of blowing up the Parliament-houſe, who readily apprehending it, ſaid, *This indeed ſtrikes at the root*; onely theſe helps were wanting; a houſe for reſidence, and a skilful man to carry on the Mine: But the firſt, *Catesby* aſſured him was eaſie to be got; and for the man, he commended *Guy Fawkes*, a ſufficient ſouldier, and a forward Catholick: Thus *Robert Catesby*, *John Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Guy Fawkes* had many meetings, and conferences about this buſineſs, till at laſt *Thomas Percy* came puffing in to *Catesby*'s lodging at *Lambeth*, ſaying, *What Gentlemen, ſhall we alwaies be talking, and never doe any thing? You cannot be ignorant how things proceed?* To whom *Catesby* anſwered, that ſomething was reſolved on, but firſt an oath for ſecreſie was to be adminiſtred: for which purpoſe they appointed to meet ſome three days after, behind *Clements* Church beyond *Temple-bar*; where being met, *Percy* profeſſed that for the Catholick cauſe himſelf would be the man to advance it, were it with the ſlaughter of the King, which he was

there

there ready to undertake and doe.

No *Tom* (ſaid *Catesby*) thou ſhalt not adventure thy ſelf to ſo ſmall purpoſe; if thou wilt be a Traytor, there is a Plot to greater advantage, and ſuch an one as can never be diſcovered: Hereupon all of them took the Oath of ſecreſie, heard a Maſſe, and received the Sacrament, after which *Catesby* told them his divelliſh deviſe by Mine and Gunpowder to blow up the Parliament houſe, and ſo by one ſtroke with the deſtruction of many to effect that at once which had been many years attempting: And for caſe of conſcience to kill the innocent with the nocent, he told them that it was warrantable by the authority of *Garnet* himſelf, the ſuperiour of the *Engliſh* Jeſuites, and of *Garrard* and *Treſmond* (Jeſuitical Prieſts likewiſe) who by their Apoſtolical power did commend the fact, and abſolve the actors. The Oath was given them by the ſaid *Garrard* in theſe words;

You ſhall ſwear by the bleſſed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpoſe to receive, never to diſcloſe directly, nor indirectly, by word, or circumſtance, the matter that ſhall be propoſed to you to keep ſecret, nor deſiſt from the execution thereof untill the reſt ſhall give you leave.

The Project being thus far carried on, in the next place the first thing they sought after was an house wherein they might begin their work, for which purpose no place was held fitter then a certain edifice adjoyning to the wall of the Parliament house, which served for a withdrawing room to the Assembled Lords, and out of Parliament time was at the dispose of the Keeper of the place, and wardrobe thereto belonging: these did *Percy* hire for his Lodgings, entertaining *Fawkes* as his man, who changing his name into *Johnson* had the Keyes, and keeping of the roomes. Besides this, they hired another house to lay in provision of powder, and to frame, and fit wood in for the carrying on the Mine, which *Catesby* provided at *Lambeth*, and sware *Robert Keies* into their conspiracy, whom he made the Keeper of those provisions, who by night conveyed the same unto *Fawks*.

The appointed day for the Parliament being the seventh day of *February*, It was thought fit to begin their work in *October* before: but *Fawkes* returning out of the Country, found *Percies* roomes appointed for the Scottish Lords to meet in, who were to treat about the union of the two Kingdomes, whereupon they forbore to

begin

begin their worke, but that Aſſembly being diſſolved upon the eleventh of *December*, late in the night they entred upon the work of darkneſs beginning their Mine having tools afore-hand prepared, and baked meats provided, the better to avoid ſuſpition in caſe they ſhould ſend abroad for them.

They which firſt began the Mine were *Robert Catesby* Eſquire, the Arch-Contriver and Traytor and ruine of his name, *Thomas Percy* Eſquire, a kin to the Earle of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, and *Guy Fawkes* gentlemen, and *Thomas Bates*, *Catesbies* man, all of them well grounded in the *Romiſh* ſchool, and earneſt labourers in this vault of villany, ſo that by *Chriſtmas-eve* they had brought the Mine under an entry adjoyning to the wall of the Parliament houſe, underpropping the earth as they went with their framed timber, nor till that day were they ſeen abroad of any man.

During this undermining, much conſultation was had how to order the reſt of the buſineſſe when the deed ſhould be accompliſhed: the firſt was how to ſurpriſe the next heire to the Crown: for though they doubted not but that Prince *Henry* would accompany his father, and perish

with him, yet they ſuſpected that Duke *Charles*, as too young to attend the Parliament, would eſcape the train, and perchance be ſo carefully guarded, and attended at Court that he would be gotten into their hands hardly but *Percy* offered to be the remover of this rub, reſolving with ſome other Gentlemen to enter the Dukes chamber, which by reaſon of his acquaintance he might well do, and others of his like acquaintance ſhould be placed at ſeveral doors of the Court, ſo that when the blow was given, and all men in a maze, then would he carry away the Duke, which he preſumed would be eaſily done, the moſt of the Court being then abſent, and for ſuch as were preſent, they would be altogether unprovided for reſiſtance.

For the ſurprize of the Lady *Elizabeth*, it was held a matter of far leſs difficulty, ſhe remaining at *Comb Abbey* in *Warwickſhire* with the Lord *Harrington*, and *Aſhbey*, *Catesbies* houſe being not far from the ſame, whither under a pretence of hunting upon *Dunſmore* heath, many Catholiks ſhould be aſſembled, who knowing for what purpoſe they were met had the full liberty in that diſtracted time to provide money, horſes, armour and other neceſſaries for War, under pretence of ſtrengthning,

ning, and guarding the heire apparent to the Crown.

Then it was debated what Lords they ſhould ſave from the Parliament, and it was agreed that they ſhould keep as many as they could that were Catholiks or favourers of them: but that all others ſhould feel the ſmart, and that the treaſon ſhould be charged upon the *Puritans* to make them more odious to the World.

Next it was controverted what foreign Princes they ſhould make privy to this Plot, ſeeing they could not enjoyn them ſecreſie, nor oblige them by oath, and this much troubled them. For though *Spain* was held fitteſt to ſecond their Plot, yet he was ſlow in his preparations, and *France* was too neere and too dangerous to be dealt with, and how the *Hollanders* ſtood affected to *England* they knew very well. But while they were thus buſying themſelves, and tormenting their brains, the Parliament was adjourned, to the fifth day of *October* enſuing, whereupon they brake off both diſcourſe, and work till *Candlemas*, and then they laid in powder, and other proviſions, beginning their work again, and having in the mean time taken into their company *Chriſtopher Wright*, and *Robert Winter*, being firſt ſworn, and

receiving

receiving the Sacrament for secresie; the foundation wall of the Parliament house, being very hard, and nine foot thick, with great difficulty they wrought halfe through; *Fawkes* being their Centinel to give warning when any came neer, that the noise in digging might not be heard.

The labourers thus working into the wall were surprized with a great fear, and casting away their digging tooles, betook themselves to their weapons, having sufficient shot, and powder in the house, and fully resolving rather to die in the place then to yield or be taken. The cause of this their fear was a noise that they heard in a room under the Parliament house, under which they meant to have mined, which was directly under the chair of State; but now all on a sudden they were at a stand, and their countenances cast each upon other, as doubtful what would be the issue of this their enterprize. *Fawkes* scouted out to see what he could discover abroad, and finding all safe, and free from suspicion, he returned, and told them that the noise was onely occasioned by the removal of Coles that were now upon Sale, and that the Cellar was to be let, which would be more commodious for their purpose, and also would save their labour for

the

the Mine. Hereupon *Thomas Percy* under pretence of ſtowage for his Winter proviſion and Coles, went and hired the Cellar, which done they began a new conference, wherein *Catesby* found the weight of the whole work too heavy for himſelf alone to ſupport: for beſides the maintenance of ſo many perſons, and the ſeveral houſes for the ſeveral uſes hired, and paid for by him, the Gunpowder and other proviſions would riſe to a very great ſumme, and indeed too much for one mans Purſe. He deſired therefore that himſelf, *Percy*, and one more might call in ſuch perſons as they thought fit to help to maintain the charge, alledging that they knew men of worth and wealth that would willingly aſſiſt, but were not willing that their names ſhould be known to the reſt. This requeſt, as neceſſary, was approved, and therefore ceaſing to dig any further in the Vault, knowing that the Cellar would be fitter for their purpoſe, they removed into it 20 Barrels of Gunpowder, which they covered with a Thouſand Billets, and five hundred Faggots, ſo that now their lodging roomes were cleared of all ſuſpicious proviſion, and might be freely entered into without danger of diſcovery.

But the Parliament being again pro-

rogued

rogued to the 5th of *November* following, theſe perſons thought fit that for a while they ſhould again diſperſe themſelves (all things being already in ſo good a forwardneſs, and that *Guy Fawkes* ſhould go over to acquaint Sir *William Stanley*, and Maſter *Hugh Owen* with theſe their proceedings,) yet ſo, as the Oath of ſecreſie ſhould be firſt taken by them. For their deſign was to have Sir *William Stanley*'s preſence ſo ſoon as the fatall blow ſhould be given to be a leader to their intended ſtratagems, whereof (as they thought) they ſhould have great need, and that *Owen* ſhould remain where he was, to hold correſpondency with forreign Princes, to allay the odiouſneſſe of the fact, and to impute the Treaſon to the diſcontented *Puritanes*.

Fawkes comming into *Flanders* found *Owen*, unto whom, after the Oath, he declared the plot, which he very well approved of; but Sir *William Stanley* being now in *Spain*, *Owen* ſaid that he would hardly be drawn into the buſineſſe, having ſuits at this time in the *Engliſh* Court: yet he promiſed to engage him all that he could, and to ſend into *England* with the firſt, ſo ſoon as their Plot had taken effect: Upon this, *Fawkes* to avoid further ſuſpition,

kept

kept ſtill in *Flanders* all the beginning of *September*, and then returning, received the Keyes of the Cellar, and laid in more Powder, Billets and Faggots, which done he retired into the Countrey, and there kept till the end of *October*.

In the mean time *Catesby* and *Percy*, meeting at the *Bath*, it was there concluded that becauſe their number was but few, *Catesby* himſelf ſhould have power to call in whom he would to aſſiſt their deſign, by which authority he took in Sir *Everard Digby* of *Rutlandſhire*, and *Francis Treſham* Eſquire of *Northamptonſhire*, both of them of ſufficient ſtate, and wealth: For Sir *Everard* offered fifteen hundred pounds to forward the action, and *Treſham* two thouſand. But *Percy* diſdaining that any ſhould out-run him in evil, promiſed four thouſand pounds out of the Earl of *Northumberlands* rents, and ten ſwift horſes to be uſed when the blow was paſt. Againſt which time to provide ammunition, *Catesby* alſo took in *Ambroſe Rookwood*, and *John Grant*, two Recuſant Gentlemen, and without doubt others were acquainted alſo with it, had theſe two grand Electors been apprehended alive, whoſe own tongues onely could have given an account of it.

The buſineſſe being thus forwarded abroad by their complices, they at home were no leſſe active: For *Percy*, *Winter*, and *Fawkes* had ſtored the Cellar with thirty ſix Barrels of Gunpowder, and inſtead of ſhot, had laid upon them barrs of Iron, logs of timber, maſſie ſtones, Iron Crowes, Pick-axes, and all their working tools, and to cover all, great ſtore of Billets and Faggots, ſo that nothing was wanting againſt that great and terrible day. Neither were the Prieſts and Jeſuits ſlack on their parts, who uſually concluded their Maſſes with prayers for the good ſucceſſe of their expected hopes, about which *Garnet* made theſe verſes,

Gentem auſert perfidam credentium
de finibus:
Ut Chriſto laudes debitas perſolvamus
alacriter.

And others thus. *Proſper Lord their pains that labour in thy cauſe day and night: Let Hereſie vaniſh away like ſmoke: Let their memory periſh with a crack like the ruine and fall of a broken houſe.*

Upon *Thurſday* in the evening, ten days before the Parliament was to begin, a Letter directed to the Lord *Monteagle*, was delivered by an unknown perſon to his footman in the ſtreet, with a ſtrait charge

to

to give it into his Lords own hands, which accordingly he did: The Letter had neither date nor ſubſcription, and was ſomewhat unlegible, ſo that the Nobleman called for one of his ſervants to aſſiſt him in reading it; the ſtrange contents whereof much perplexed him, he not knowing whether it was writ as a *Paſquil* to ſcare him from attendance at the Parliament, or as matter of conſequence, and advice from ſome friend: Howſoever, though it were now ſupper-time, and the night very dark, yet to ſhew his loyalty to his Sovereign, he immediately repaired to *White-Hall*, and imparted the Letter to the Earl of *Salisbury*, then principal Secretary, and they both preſently acquainted the Lord *Chamberlaine* therewith, who deemed the matter not a little to concern himſelf; his Office requiring him to overſee all the places to which his Majeſty was to repair: Hereupon theſe two Counſellors ſhewed the Letter to the Earles of *Worceſter* and *Northampton*, and all concluded (how ſleight ſoever the contents ſeemed to appear) to acquaint the King himſelfe with the ſame, which accordingly was done: and the Letter was as followeth:

My Lord,

Out of the love I beare to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your preſervation: Therefore I would adviſe you as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this Parliament: For God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. And think not ſleightly of this advertiſement, but retire your ſelf into your Country, where you may expect the event in ſafety. For though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet I ſay they ſhall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may doe you good, and can doe you no harm: For the danger is paſt ſo ſoon as you have burnt the Letter; and I hope God will give you the grace to make a good uſe of it, to whoſe holy protection I commend you.

His Majeſty after reading this Letter, pauſing awhile, and then reading it again, delivered his judgment, that the ſtyle of it was too quick, and pithy to be a Libel proceeding from the ſuperfluities of an idle brain, and by theſe words, *That they ſhould receive a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet not ſee who hurt them*; he preſently

ſently apprehended, that a ſudden danger by a blaſt of Gunpowder was intended by ſome baſe villaine in a corner, though no inſurrection, rebellion, or deſperate attempt appeared: and therefore wiſhed that the rooms under the Parliament houſe ſhould be throughly ſearched, before himſelf or Peers ſhould ſit therein: Hereupon it was concluded that the Lord *Chamberlaine* (according to his Office) ſhould view all the roomes above and below: but yet to prevent idle rumours, and to let things ripen further, it was reſolved that this ſearch ſhould be deferred till *Munday*, the day immediately before the Parliament, & that then it ſhould be done with a ſeeming ſleight eye to avoid ſuſpect.

According to this concluſion, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord *Chamberlaine*, upon *Munday* in the afternoon, accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, repaired into thoſe under roomes, and finding the Cellar ſo fully ſtored with Wood and Coles, demanded of *Fawkes*, the counterfeit *Johnſon*, who ſtood there attending as a ſervant of ſmall repute, *Who owed the place?* He anſwered that the Lodgings belonged to Maſter *Thomas Percy*, and the Cellar alſo to lay in his winter proviſion, himſelf being the Keeper of it, and Maſter *Percies*

ſervant: whereunto the Earle, as void of anyſuſpicion, told him that his Maſter was well provided againſt Winter blaſts: But when they were come forth, the Lord *Monteagle* told him that he did much ſuſpect *Percy* to be the inditer of the Letter, knowing his affection in religion, and the friendſhip betwixt them profeſſed, ſo that his heart gave him (as he ſaid) when he heard *Percy* named, that his hand was in the act.

The Lord *Chamberlaine* returning, related to the King and Council what he had ſeen, and the ſuſpition that the Lord *Monteagle* had of *Percy*, and himſelfe of *Johnſon* his man, all which increaſed his Majeſties jealouſie, ſo that he inſiſted (contrary to the opinion of ſome) that a narrower ſearch ſhould be made, and the billets and coles turned up to the bottom: and accordingly the ſearch was concluded to be made, but under colour of ſearching for certain hangings belonging to the houſe, which were miſſing and conveyed away.

Sir *Thomas Knevet* (a Gentleman of his Majeſties Privy Chamber) was employed herein, who about midnight before the Parliament was to begin, went to the place with a ſmall, but truſty number

of

of persons: And at the door of the entrance to the Cellar, finding one (who was *Guy Fawke*) at so unseasonable an hour cloked, and booted, he apprehended him, and ransacking the Billets, he found the Serpents nest stored with thirty six barrels of Powder, and then seaching the Villain, he found about him a dark Lanthorn, three Matches, and other instruments for blowing up the Powder: And being no whit daunted, he instantly confessed his guiltiness, and was so far from repentance, as he vowed, that had he been within the house (as indeed he was but immediately come forth from his work) he would certainly have blown up the house with himself and them all: and being brought before the Council, he lamented nothing so much as because the deed was not done, saying, that *the Divel, and not God was the discoverer of it.*

As desperate were *Catesby*, *Percy*, and the rest, who seeing the treason discover'd, posted all into *Warwickshire*, where *Grant*, and his associates had broken open the Stables belonging to *Warwick* Castle, and taken some great horses out of the same, to forward their hoped for great day. At *Dun-Church* Sir *Everard Digby* had made a match for a great hunting, that under

pretence thereof they might ſeize upon the Lady *Elizabeth* then at *Comb Abbey*, but when by thoſe which poſted from *London* they were informed that they were diſcovered, and purſued, being ſtruck with a great fear, not knowing whither to fly, they deſperately began an open rebellion, pretending that they did it for the cauſe of Religion, all the Catholikes throats being intended to be cut, and ſo trooping together they wandred through *Warwickſhire*, being purſued by Sir *Richard Verney*, the then high Sheriffe, and from thence they went through *Worceſterſhire* into *Staffordſhire*, their ſervants, and followers being about eighty men, who alſo ſtole away many of them from them. Thus ranging about, and finding no reſiſtance, they rifled the Lord *Windſors* houſe of all the armour, ſhot, powder, and all other Warlike proviſions: but the weather being rainy, and the waters ſomewhat high, the powder in carriage took wet, and ſo became unſerviceable.

For their laſt refuge they betook themſelves to *Holbach* houſe in *Staffordſhire*, belonging to *Steven Littleton*, whither they were purſued by the high Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire*, who not knowing of the Treaſon, and thinking it to be onely ſome fray, or

riot,

riot, ſent his Trumpeter unto them, commanding them to render themſelves to him his Majeſties Miniſter: But their conſciences witneſſing what the Sheriff knew not, anſwered, *that he had need of greater aſſiſtance then of theſe few that were with him, before he could be able to command or controul them:* and ſo they prepared for reſiſtance, and having laid two pounds of the ſaid powder into a Platter to dry in the chimney, one comming to mend the fire, threw in a billet, whereby a ſpark flew into the Powder, whoſe ſudden blaſt was ſo violent, that though ſo ſmall a quantity, it blew up the roof of the houſe, ſcorching the bodies and faces of *Catesby*, *Rookwood*, and *Grant*, and ſome others, whoſe conſciences now told them that God had puniſhed them juſtly with Powder, who with Powder would have deſtroyed ſo many. Being diſpirited with this accident, yet like deſperate men, they reſolved to die together, ſet open the Gates, and ſuffered the Sheriffs men to rush in upon them, and preſently both the *Wrights* were ſhot down dead: *Rookwood* and *Thomas Winter* were very ſorely wounded, *Catesby* and *Percy* deſperately fighting back to back, were both ſhot thorow, and ſlain with one Muſket bullet: the reſt being taken, were car-

ried priſoners to *London*, being all the way gazed at, reviled, and deteſted by the common people for their horrid, and horrible treaſon: and ſo at laſt they received the juſt guerdon of their wickedneſs.

Thus you have ſeen this work of darkneſſe by the watchfulneſſe of Gods providence detected, and defeated, and the contrivers of miſchief falne into the pit that they digged for others: Now let us ſee alſo how cunningly they contrived the transferring the *Odium* of it upon the Puritans.

There was one Mr. *Pickering* of *Tichmarſh-Grove* in *Northamptonſhire* that was in great eſteem with K. *James*. This M. *Pickering* had a horſe of ſpecial note for ſwiftnes on which he uſed to hunt with the King A little before the blow was given, Mr. *Keies*, one of the conſpirators and brother in Law to Mr. *Pickering*, borrowed this horſe of him, and conveyed him to *London* upon a bloody deſign which was thus contrived. *Faux* upon the day of the fatall blow was appointed to retire himſelf into St. *Georges* fields where this horſe was to attend him to further his eſcape (as they made him believe) ſo ſoon as the Parliament houſe ſhould be blown up. It was likewiſe contrived, that Mr. *Pickering*, who

was

was noted for a Puritan, ſhould that morning be murthered in his bed, and ſecretly conveyed away: As alſo that *Faux* ſo ſoon as he came into *Georges* fields to eſcape, ſhould be there murthered, and ſo mangled that he could not be known: whereupon it was to be bruited abroad that the Puritans had blown up the Parliament houſe, and the better to make the World believe it, there was Mr. *Pickering* with his choiſe Horſe ready to make an eſcape, but that ſtirred up ſome, who ſeeing the haincuſneſs of the fact, and him ready to eſcape, in deteſtation of ſo horrible a deed, fell upon him, and hewed him in pieces, and to make it more cleer, there was his horſe, known to be of ſpecial ſpeed, and ſwiftneſs, ready to carry him away, and upon this rumour a Maſſacre ſhould have gone through the whole Land upon the Puritans. When the contrivance of this plot was thus diſcovered by ſome of the conſpirators, and *Faux*, who was now a Priſoner in the Tower made acquainted with it, whereas before he was made to believe by his companions that he ſhould be bountifully rewarded for that his good ſervice to the Gatholicke cauſe, now perceiving that on the contrary his death had been contrived by them, he thereupon freely confeſſed all that he knew

concerning that horrid conſpiracy, which before all the tortures of the rack could not force him unto.

The truth of all this was atteſted by Mr. *William Perkins*, an eminent Chriſtian and Citizen of *London* to Dr. *Gouge*, which Mr. *Perkins* had it from the mouth of Mr. *Clement Cotton* that made our *Engliſh* Concordance, who alſo had it from the Relation of Mr *Pickering* himſelf.

FINIS.

A narrative of the visible hand of God upon the Papists by the downfal in Black-Friers London. An. Christi, 1623.

ON the Lords day, *October* the twenty sixth according to the *English* account: but *November* the fifth according to the *Popish* account, a common report went far and near, that one *Drury*, a *Romish Priest* (a man of parts, and eminent gifts) would preach that day in the afternoon in a fair house in *Black-Friers London*, whither all that would might freely come to hear him.

Upon this report very many, Protestants as well as Papists, Scholars as well as others, assembled thither about three a clock in the afternoon; That mansion house was now inhabited by the *French* Ambassador: and the Sermon was to be in a Gar-

rer, into which there were two paſſages: One out of the Ambaſſadors withdrawing room which was private, the other more common without the great gate of the ſaid manſion houſe.

Under this Garret was another large chamber which one *Redyate*, another Romiſh Prieſt, had hired for himſelf: Unto whom Papiſts frequently repaired to hear Maſs, and make confeſſions. Under this room was the aforeſaid withdrawing chamber of the Ambaſſador: ſupported with ſtrong Arches of ſtone, being immediately over the entrance into the great houſe: And at the South end of the Garret, and on the Weſt ſide thereof, there were bed-chambers and cloſets which other Prieſts had hired for themſelves: The bed-chamber at the South end, was ſevered from the Garret onely by a partition of Wainſcote which was taken down for the Sermon time. The length of the Garret from North to South was almoſt forty foot, the breadth about ſixteen foot. The two aforeſaid paſſages met on one pair of ſtairs leading to the Garret which had onely that one door leading into it.

More came to this place then poſſibly it could hold, ſo that many for want of room returned

returned back again: Others went into the aforesaid *Redyates* chamber, and tarried with him. The whole Garret, Rooms adjoyning, door, and top of the stairs were as full as they could hold. In the Garret were set chairs and stools for the better sort: most of the women sate on the floor, but most of the men stood thronged together: In all, about two hundred were there assembled. In the midst was a table and a chair for the preacher.

All things thus prepared, and the multitude assembled, about three a clock the expected Preacher, having on a Surplice girt about his middle with a linnen girdle, and a tippet of scarlet on both his shoulders, came in, being attended by a man that brought after him his book, and houreglass.

As soon as he came to the table, he kneeled down with shew of private devotion for a little while: then rising up, and turning himself to the people, he crossed himself, took the book (which was said to be a *Rhemist Testament*) out of his mans hands, and the hour-glass being set on the table, he opened the book, read the Gospel appointed by the *Romish Calendar* for that day, being the

twenty first Sunday after *Pentecoſt*: The Goſpel was in *Matthew* 18. 23, *&c.* The Text being read, he ſate down, put on a red cap over a white linen one turned up about the brims: He made no audible prayer, but having read his Text, which was the parable of forgiving debts, he ſpake ſomething of the occaſion of it, and then propounded theſe three ſpecial points to be handled.

1 The debt we owe to God.

2 The mercy of God in forgiving it.

3 Mans unmercifulneſs to his brother.

Having inſiſted ſome while of the miſery of man by reaſon of the debt wherein he ſtands bound to God, he paſſed on to declare the rich mercy of God, and the means which God hath afforded to his Church, for partaking thereof. Amongſt which he reckoned up the Sacraments, and eſpecially preſſed the Sacrament of *Penance*, as they call it.

When he had diſcourſed on theſe points about half an hour, on a ſudden the floor whereon the preacher and the greateſt part of his auditory were, fell down with ſuch violence, as therewith the floor of the chamber under it, where

Redyate and his company were, was broken down with it, ſo that both the floors with the beams, girders, joyces, bords and ſeelings, with all the people on them, fell down together upon the third floor which was the floor of the *French* Ambaſſadors withdrawing chamber, ſupported with ſtrong arches as aforeſaid.

There being a partition on the South ſide of the middle chamber which reached up to the floor of the Garret and ſupported it, that part of the Garret which was beyond the partition Southward, fell not, ſo as all the people thereon were ſafe, only they had no way to get forth: for there was but one entrance into the Garret which was at the North-Weſt corner. Hereupon ſome through amazement, would have leaped out at a window almoſt fourty foot from the ground: but the people without, telling them of the certain danger if they leaped down, kept them from that deſperate attempt: At length by breaking a wall on the Weſt ſide they diſcerned chambers adjoyning thereto; and ſo by creeping through that hole into the chambers, they were ſaved: So were all they that ſtood on the ſtaire-head at the door leading into the Garret: For the

ſtaires were without the room, and nothing fell but the floors, neither walls nor roof.

Alſo amongſt thoſe that fell, many eſcaped; for ſome of the timber reſted with one end on the walls, and with the other on the third floor that yielded not, and ſo both ſuch as abode on thoſe pieces, and ſuch as were directly under them, were thereby preſerved. Amongſt the multitude that fell, there was a Miniſter who (through Gods providence) fell ſo between two pieces of timber, as that the timber kept his upper parts from cruſhing & holpe him by his claſping about the timber to pull out his feet from amongſt the dead corpſes.

Amongſt others, the preſent preſervation & future deſtruction of one *Parker* was very remarkable. This *Parker* was a factor for the *Engliſh* Seminaries and Nunnes beyond Sea, eſpecially at *Cambre*; & he had ſo dealt with two of his brothers here, that he had got from one of them a ſon, and from the other a daughter to ſend them to religious houſes (as they falſely call them) beyond Sea. This *Parker* at this time took his Nephew, a youth of about ſixteen years old to the aforementioned fatal conventi-

cle,

cle, where *Drury* preached: and both *Parker* and his Nephew fell with the reſt: The youth there loſt his life, but *Parker* himſelf eſcaped with a bruiſed body, being a corpulent man: yet ſo far was he from making a good uſe of his deliverance, that with much diſcontent he wiſhed that he had dyed for his Nephew, ſaying, *that God ſaw him not fit to die amongſt ſuch Martyrs.* Many ſuch Martyrs have been made at *Tyburn* for treaſon: Such are *Romes* Martyrs. But *the preſervation of the wicked is but a reſervation to future judgements;* for about ten dayes after, as this *Parker* was ſhooting *London Bridge* with his foreſaid Neece, whom he was conveying beyond Sea, they were both caſt away and drowned in the *Thames. Iudge by this* (O Parents) *whether God is well pleaſed with diſpoſing your children to Popiſh Education.*

Others there were that were pulled out alive, but ſo bruiſed, or ſo ſpent for want of breath, that ſome lived not many houres, others dyed not many days after.

The floor of the chamber immediately over this, where the corps lay, being fallen, there was no entrance into it but through the Ambaſſadours bed-chamber, the door whereof was cloſed up with the timber

of the floors that fell down, and the walls of this room were of ſtone, onely there was one window in it with extraordinary ſtrong croſs barres of iron, ſo that though Smiths, and other workmen were immediately ſent for, yet it was more then an hour before ſuccour could be afforded to them that were falne down.

Paſſage at length being made, I had acceſs into the room (ſaith Doctor *Gouge* the relater of this ſtory) and viewing the bodies, obſerved ſome (yet but few) to be mortally wounded, or cruſhed by the timber: Others to be apparently ſtifled, partly with their thick lying one upon another, and partly with the duſt that came from the ſeeling which fell down.

On the Lords day at night when they fell, they were numbred ninety one dead bodies: but many of them were ſecretly conveyed away in the night, there being a pair of water-ſtaires, leading from the garden appertaining to the houſe, into the *Thames*. On the morrow the Coroner and his inqueſt coming to view the bodies, found remaining but ſixty three.

Of thoſe that were carried away ſome were buried in a burying place within the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors houſe in *Holborn*, amongſt

amongſt whom the Lady *Web* was one, the Lady *Blackſtones* daughter another, and one Miſtris *Udal* a third: Maſter *Stoker*, and Maſter *Bartholmew Bavin* were buried in *Brides* Pariſh. *Robert Sutton*, *Iohn Loccham*, and *Abigail Holford* in *Andrews Holborn*. Captain *Summers* wife in the vault under *Black-Friers* Church, and her woman in the Church-yard. For the corps remaining, two great pits were digged, one in the fore Court of the ſaid *French* Ambaſſadors houſe eighteen foot long, and twelve foot broad; the other in the garden behind his houſe, twelve foot long, and eight foot broad. In the former pit were laid forty four corps, whereof the bodies of the aforeſaid *Drury* and *Redyate* were two. Theſe two wound up in ſheets, were firſt laid into the pit, with a partition of looſe earth to ſever them from the reſt. Then were others brought, ſome in ſomewhat a decent manner wound up in ſheets, but the moſt in a moſt lamentable plight, the ſhirts onely of the men tyed under the twiſts, and ſome linnen tyed about the middle of the women, the reſt of their bodies naked, and one poor man, or woman taking a corps by the head, another by the feet tumbled them in, and

ſo piled

ſo piled them up almoſt to the top of the pit. The reſt were put into the other pit in the garden.

Their manner of burial ſeemed almoſt as diſmal, as the heap of them, when they lay upon the floor where they laſt fell. No obſequies of funeral rites were uſed at their burial. Onely the day after, a black Croſs of wood was ſet upon each grave, but was ſoon by authority commanded to be taken down.

When they were thus interred, thorough ſearch was made about the cauſe of the falling of the timber: The timber of each floor was laid together, and the meaſure of the Summers that brake was taken. The maine Summer which croſſed the Garret was ten inches ſquare: Two girders were by tenents, and mortaiſes let into the middeſt of it, one juſt againſt another: the Summer was knotty where the mortaiſes were made, whereupon being over-burdened, it knapped ſuddenly aſunder in the middeſt.

The main Summer of the other floor that fell was much ſtronger, being thirteen

teen inches ſquare, ſtrong and ſound every where, neither did the girders meet ſo juſt one againſt an other; yet that alſo failed, not in the middeſt as the uppermoſt, but within five foot of one end, and that more ſhiveringly, and with a longer rent in the timber then the other. For this chamber was almoſt full with ſuch perſons as coming too late, went into *Redyates* chamber: Beſides, it did not onely bear the weight which lay on the upper floor, but received it with a ſudden knock, and ſo the maſſie timber ſhivered in two, and the people were irrecoverably, before they could fear any ſuch thing, beaten down into the third floor which was above twenty foot from the firſt.

It's true, we muſt not be raſh in cenſuring, yet when we ſee judgements executed on ſinners in the act of their ſin, when they are impudent, and preſumptuous therein, not to acknowledge ſuch to be judged by the Lord, is to wink againſt clear light, *Pſal.* 9. 16. *God is known by the judgements which he executeth.* Shall *Nebuchadnezzar*, while he is vaunting of his great *Babylon*, be bereft of his wits?

Shall

Shall *Herod*, whileſt he is priding himſelf in the flattering applauſe of the people, be eaten of worms? Shall *Haman*, whileſt he is practiſing to deſtroy all the people of God, be hanged on a gallows fifty foot high which he had prepared for *Mordecai*? Shall the houſe where the *Philiſtines* met together to ſport with *Sampſon*, fall upon their heads? Shall theſe and ſuch like judgements overtake men in the very act of their ſin, and yet be accounted no judgements, no evidences of Gods revenging juſtice, or ſignes of his indignation? Truly then we may deny all providence, and attribute all to chance: But add hereto, that this fel out upon their fifth of *November*, and it will be as clear as if written with a Sun-beam, that the pit which they digged for others, they themſelves fell into it.

Doctor *Gouge*, who relates this ſtory in his *Extent of Gods Providence*, thus writeth.

I do the more confidently publiſh this hiſtory, becauſe I was an eye-witneſs of many of the things therein related,

ted, and heard from the mouths of ſuch as were preſent at the Sermon, the reſt. For upon the firſt hearing of the deſtruction of ſo many perſons as by that Downfal loſt their lives, our Conſtables preſently cauſed the gates of our precinct (it being ſurrounded with walls and gates) to be ſhut, and raiſed a ſtrong guard from amongſt the inhabitants to keep the houſe were this accident fell out, and to prevent tumult about it. Thus through the favour of the Conſtables, and Watch, who were all my neighbours, I had the more free and quiet acceſs to view the dead bodies, and to inform my ſelf of all the materiall circumſtances about that accident: which I did the rather, becauſe the Biſhop of *London* that then was, ſent to me to inform my ſelf throughly of all the buſineſs, and to ſend him a narration thereof under my hand; whereupon I did not onely view matters my ſelf, but cauſed Carpenters to ſearch the timber, to take the meaſures both of the timber and rooms. I was alſo preſent with the Coroner and his Inqueſt at their examining of all circumſtances about the buſineſs. And the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſending to me to come to him, and

to

to bring with me the beſt evidence I could, I got the foreman and others of the Jury, and four perſons that were preſent at the Sermon, and fell down with the reſt, but by Gods providence eſcaped death, and one that ſtood without the door, within hearing, but fell not, all theſe I got to go along with me to *Lambeth*, where I heard the witneſs which they gave to the Arch-biſhop about this matter. One that fell with the reſt, and eſcaped death, was Maſter *Gee*, a Preacher in *Lanchaſhire*; two others were a ſon and ſervant to a Citizen in *Pater noſter* row: The reſt were men of good underſtanding, able to apprehend what they ſaw and heard, and to relate what they conceived.